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A. D. I.

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BOOK VI

THE AGE OF HAPSBURG ASCENDENCY

CHAPTER XVI

TRANSITION

DURING the Middle Ages, that is to say, from the fall of the western Roman Empire to the latter part of the fifteenth century, the great states of Europe were only **The Great States** shaping themselves. We have seen a long struggle **emerge.** between England and France, and a struggle between the empire and the papacy, and the shifting of the power from one to another of the great houses within the German Empire. We have now reached a point at which four first-class powers emerge: Spain, France, Austria, and England, the German Empire being associated sometimes with Spain and sometimes with Austria. The key to half the complications which embroiled Europe for centuries to come is to be found in the position of the house of Hapsburg, and the enormous possessions in the hands of one branch or other of that family. It will be well, therefore, to work this out to begin with.

The Hapsburg Emperor Frederick III. is comparatively unimportant; not so his son Maximilian, who was named King of the Romans, or in other words, heir to the **1. The** empire, a good many years before his father's **Hapsburgs.** death. Maximilian himself was heir to the Hapsburg inheritance, which included claims on the Crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. He married Mary, the heiress of Burgundy; **Hapsburg** Mary bore him a son known as the Archduke **Marriages.** Philip. Philip then was heir to the Hapsburg inheritance and the Burgundian inheritance, that is to say, the Low Countries and Franche Comté. Philip married Joanna, daughter and

heiress of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. They had two sons, Charles and Ferdinand. Charles, therefore, was heir to the Hapsburg inheritance, the Burgundian inheritance, and the whole Spanish inheritance including the New World, which had been discovered by Christopher Columbus, and had been bestowed upon Spain by a bull of Pope Alexander vi. The Spanish inheritance also included possession or claims to possession of the Crowns of the two Sicilies as well as sundry Italian duchies. With this vast inheritance Charles also obtained the succession to the empire; but, on the other hand, while he retained his Burgundian possessions, he transferred the Austrian claims to his brother Ferdinand. When Charles himself disappeared from the scene, the succession to the empire as well as to the Austrian dominion went to Ferdinand and the Austrian Hapsburgs; while everything derived from Mary of Burgundy or Joanna of Castile remained to his son Philip and the Spanish branch of the Hapsburgs.

It would naturally have appeared that with such vast domains under his control, Charles v. might have completely dominated Europe. That he did not do so was due to his inability to control the German Empire; because that empire was split into two camps by the Reformation, and he could never be sure that one half of the German princes would not make common cause with his opponents. The Reformation, if we date its commencement from the challenge thrown down by Luther to the papacy, began precisely at the moment when the young Charles was entering upon his inheritance. When, later, the Spanish Crown was separated from the empire, Spain seemed to its own king and to the world to wield a power still mightier than that which Charles v. had been able to exercise, and she could always feel assured that the Austrian Hapsburgs would not actively oppose her, though they might be either unable or unwilling to lend her direct support. In the following century, the seventeenth, the Spanish power waned, but that of the Austrian Hapsburgs increased, so that a Hapsburg ascendancy was maintained on the continent until France was able to win the ascendancy for her own royal family.

Between 1480 and 1490 the coming greatness of the Hapsburgs had not revealed itself. Maximilian's son was a baby, and the Low Countries declined to admit that Maximilian had any authority over them. Bohemia had elected a Polish king; and Matthias Corvinus, the son of John Hunyadi, was not only King of Hungary, but was in effective possession of most of Frederick III.'s Austrian territories. It was still extremely doubtful whether the Hapsburgs would succeed in recovering their own dominion; there was no present prospect of their securing either Hungary or Bohemia, especially when, on the death of Matthias, Hungary elected to its own monarchy the Polish King of Bohemia; there was little enough security that the Low Countries would be brought under their control; and, finally, the matrimonial alliance had not yet been formed with the houses of Castile and Aragon.

England, the fourth of the great powers named, was at this stage in a very humble position. The struggle between Lancaster and York had exhausted her; and though this was brought to an end by the accession of Henry VII. in 1485, when Richard III. was slain at Bosworth field, and by the king's marriage to the heiress of York, the new king's seat on his throne was extremely insecure. He was ruling, however, with immense astuteness, patience and foresight, gradually filling the royal treasury, and concentrating power in his own hands, while making a great show of acting in partnership with the parliaments which he made a point of summoning frequently.

The two states which had made a really marked advance were France and Spain, though even now Spain could hardly be spoken of as one state. Louis XI. had brought under the royal control practically the whole of what we now call France, with the exception of Brittany, which retained a certain degree of independence. Brittany, too, was almost immediately brought in by the marriage of the young French king, Charles VIII., to the still younger Duchess Anne. No sooner was this accomplished than Charles invaded Italy to assert in his own name the Angevin claim to the throne of

Naples, which was now held, as we have seen, by a junior branch of the house of Aragon.

In Spain, Isabella, Queen of Castile, and Ferdinand, King of Aragon, were husband and wife. They intended to create a united Spain, and were jealous enough of France.

Spain. To check France they had fostered trouble in Brittany, and were about to give one daughter in marriage to the son of Maximilian, and another to the son of Henry of England. But their first and most important business was the destruction of the Moorish kingdom in Granada, the existence of which was incompatible with the unification of Spain. While, as with every other king, their domestic policy was directed to strengthening the power of the Crown as against that of the nobles, both in Castile and in Aragon, they materially assisted their policy by a war which brought prestige to the monarchs and diverted the attention of the nobles to the pursuit of military glory. The war was at last brought to a close at the end of 1491 by the capture of the city of Granada itself. Except Portugal and Navarre, the whole peninsula was in the grip of the two wedded sovereigns. Ferdinand could turn his eyes to Italy, and to counteracting the extension of the French power.

In 1494 Charles entered Italy, made an easy conquest of Naples, and then withdrew; but his back was no sooner turned than the French were again expelled. Charles **Italy.** died, and was succeeded by his cousin Louis XII., who renewed the claim to Naples, and added his own personal claim, as the grandson of a Visconti, to the dukedom of Milan. Ferdinand of Aragon agreed to a partition of the Neapolitan kingdom between himself and Louis, but pretexts were soon found for breaking through the arrangement; the French were again expelled by Gonsalvo di Cordova, known as the 'Great Captain,' and the kingdom was annexed to Aragon.

Meanwhile, the momentous marriage had taken place between the Archduke Philip and Joanna of Castile, who, through **Ferdinand and Maximilian.** the death of an elder sister and brother, became heiress to both the Spanish kingdoms. Joanna herself became insane; Isabella of Castile died, and soon after

her the Archduke Philip. Setting aside Joanna the child Charles was now Lord of Burgundy and Castile, his grandfather Ferdinand having no actual rights in Castile; and his other grandfather Maximilian, who had now succeeded Frederick as emperor, having no rights in Burgundy. Each of the grandfathers tried to get the child's possessions into his own hands, and each was also extremely anxious to prevent the power of France from increasing. Each tried to make a cat's-paw of the young King of England, Henry VIII., till Thomas Wolsey appeared as Henry's adviser, and soon proved himself a match even for such a past master of diplomatic cunning as Ferdinand. Thus these years provide a complication of intrigues and wars, the unravelling of which would occupy too much space.

Two battles, however, require a passing note. One is that of Marignano, by which the young French king, Francis I., obtained a temporary supremacy in the north of **Marignano, Italy, after defeating an army the strength of 1515.** — which lay in the Swiss troops hitherto reputed invincible. The second is the battle of Flodden, which stopped **Flodden, 1513.** the development of the power of Scotland under James IV., whose death in the battle left the country once more to be torn in pieces by the rivalries of the nobility.

By 1519 both Ferdinand and Maximilian were dead; Charles entered upon his complete inheritance, and was elected, as Maximilian's successor, as emperor; an election in **The three Kings, 1519.** which he defeated the young King of France, the victor of Marignano, and in which Henry VIII. of England was very near being a candidate. The destinies of Europe appeared to be in the hands of these three princes, not one of whom was thirty years old, and of whom Charles was the youngest. Very shortly after the Imperial election, Charles ceded his Austrian dominions to his brother Ferdinand; who also, by an arrangement with Hungary and Bohemia, presently succeeded to the Crowns of these two kingdoms.

At about the same time Sweden became definitely separated from Denmark and Norway, and the dynasty of Gustavus Vasa was established, Denmark and Norway remaining under the dynasty of Oldenburg.

Meanwhile, however, the way was being prepared for a revolution, which was to split Europe into two camps on an entirely new line, under the banners of the Papacy and of the Reformation; commonly and conveniently, if by no means accurately, labelled as Catholic and Protestant. The inaccuracy must be emphasised, because the term Protestant properly applied only to one section of the Reformers; while a very large body of the anti-papal group claimed that they had as good a title as the Romanists to the title of Catholic. In fact, however, no one has ever been able to suggest designations which represent with anything like accuracy the nature of the division which took place; and the popular names remain on the whole the least misleading and the most intelligible as political labels. But besides the approach of the Reformation, another revolution was in progress. The horizon of Europe was suddenly extended; the ocean was converted into a high-road to a newly-discovered world in the west and a rediscovered world in the east, and a new battle-field was entered upon.

For half a century after the Council of Constance, the popes had done much to restore their own moral prestige; but politically the papacy had assumed more and more the character of an Italian principality. The revival of General Councils had given prominence to the conception of a spiritual authority on earth higher than that of the pope. Then in 1471 there began with Sixtus IV. a series of popes whose personal vices and crimes were a scandal to all Christendom. The culminating point was reached in the person of the Borgia, Alexander VI., who ruled from 1492 to 1503. The family of the Borgias, whose aggrandisement this pope made his main object, have an unenviable notoriety in the annals of crime. Iniquity in high places led to a general degradation of religion, and at the same time aroused a zeal for moral reform, which however did not carry at first with it any inclination to challenge the doctrines of the Church or the existing ecclesiastical order. It followed rather two parallel courses: one directed to the spread of knowledge, culture, and rational criticism, as providing a rational basis for the higher life; the other seeking directly to raise the moral standard of practice.

The prophet of Puritanism as we may call this latter effort was the Florentine monk Savonarola ; the greatest of the ' Humanists ' was Erasmus of Rotterdam. Neither Savonarola nor Erasmus intended to attack the Church. Neither of them advocated those views of Wycliffe and Huss which had been condemned as heretical, but both taught multitudes of men to perceive that the existing system was rotten. It remained for another monk, Martin Luther, a professor at the University of Wittenberg, the capital of the Elector of Saxony, to take up the position which forced him to challenge the authority of the pope, root and branch.

At the moment when Martin Luther came forward, the papacy had passed through its worst days, but it had not attempted to resume a spiritual character. The successor of Alexander VI. was Julius II., a militant pope, whose great desire was to strengthen the papacy as a temporal principality. He was a vigorous politician and soldier, but a pope who rode in armour on the battle-field was not the man to redeem the Church from the charge of seeking the things of this world more than the glory of God. After Julius came Leo X., one of the great Florentine house of the Medici ; brilliant and cultured, who, as a secular prince, was deserving of applause ; but for religion he cared nothing. Leo was in want of money, and to raise it he resorted to a familiar device, the sale of Indulgences. The pope claimed the power of absolving men from their sins, always on condition of their repentance ; the power of remitting the penalties which their souls should endure in purgatory. Absolution however was normally accompanied by the imposition of penances, penalties to be voluntarily endured by the repentant sinner. The theory of the Indulgences was, that instead of imposing penances the pope would be satisfied by the payment of a small sum into the coffers of the Church. In theory it was not a pardon that was sold, but only freedom from penance ; the pardon was valid only if the sinner repented. But this was not the popular view, which amounted to a simple conviction that a pardon was bought and paid for. Pope Leo proposed to sell the Indulgences on a huge scale at a very small price. Martin Luther had come to the

conclusion that neither the pope nor any other mortal man has power to pardon sin. When the papal commissioners were coming with their Indulgences to Saxony, he affixed to the doors of the Cathedral a series of theses against them; and he persuaded Frederick the Elector of Saxony to forbid the commissioners to enter Saxon territory. So in 1517 the battle began.

Hitherto the limits of the known world—the world, that is, of which the west had any knowledge—had not gone eastward

4. The Discoveries. beyond the boundaries of the old Persian Empire, nor westward beyond those of the Roman Empire.

Southwards they had been fixed by the North African deserts.

In fact since the Roman time, the centre and north and east

The Known World. of Europe had been brought within the range of civilisation; otherwise there had been practically

no change. Even now Russia was for the most part outside the known range. The Norwegians had colonised Iceland; they had even carried their voyages to Greenland, and adventurous explorers had certainly touched Labrador and Newfoundland.

But these ventures had passed into the regions of forgotten myths. Neither the Norsemen nor any one else had felt tempted

Travellers' Tales. to follow in the tracks of those early explorers. There were legends of a wonderful Isle of Atlantis

far away in western waters, and there were Portuguese sailors in the early fifteenth century who affirmed that having been carried by storms far over the ocean, they had seen a vast island on the western horizon. In very early days Phœnician sailors had doubled the Cape of Good Hope; but their story, though carefully recorded, had been discredited because the true facts which they reported had appeared to be mere travellers' tales.

For two thousand years no one had thought of circumnavigating Africa. From India and from China, known to the western world as Cathay, merchandise had come by way of Persia and Bagdad; and the crusaders brought home amazing tales of the wealth and the mystery of the far east, the way to which was barred by the Mohammedan powers. Some adventurous spirits had even made their way to the remotest east in the days when the Mongol dominion was at its mightiest, and Khubla Khan reigned in Xanadu. Concerning these far lands men cheerfully

believed the wildest legends, but placed little trust in the veracious reports of travellers like Marco Polo.

The way to India was blocked by land, but in the fifteenth century men were beginning to think that it might be possible to get there by sea. Portuguese sailors gradually **Columbus,** creeping along the east coast of Africa began to **1492.**

dream of a sea passage round the continent. The Genoese, Christopher Columbus, conceived the idea of sailing westwards round the world until the coast of India should be reached. He tried, and failed to obtain help for such an expedition from Portugal; then even while his brother was making a similar attempt with Henry VII. in England, he got the needed aid from Isabella of Castile, at the moment when Spain was freed from more pressing claims at home by her conquest of Granada. At the end of 1492 an expedition under Columbus sailed out to the unknown west, and reached the islands called the West Indies, under the impression, which still prevailed when he died, that it was India he had reached. It was a later voyager, Amerigo Vespucci, who gave his name to the vast continent in the west. On the strength of the doctrine that the unknown heathen world was the property of the pope, Alexander VI. issued a bull under which he bestowed on Spain all lands that might be discovered west of a line drawn from north to south, and east of that line on Portugal. Thus it was that Brazil, being east of the line, fell to Portugal, and the rest of America to Spain.

Even before the great voyage of Columbus, the Portuguese, Bartholomew Diaz, reached the Cape of Good Hope which was doubled in 1497 by Vasco da Gama, who sailed up **Vasco da** the east coast of Africa, and striking across the **Gama, 1497.**

Indian Ocean reached Calicut at the south of India in 1498. It was in 1519, the year when Charles V. became emperor, that the Portuguese Magelhaens sailed on the great voyage on which he passed through the Straits of Magellan at the **Magelhaens.** south of America; and in 1522 his ships got home, the first which had circumnavigated the world, though their captain had died on the voyage.

The Portuguese secured to themselves, by grace of the native rulers, stations on the west coast of India, and on the mouth of

the Persian Gulf; and under Albuquerque they established a Portuguese maritime empire in all the eastern seas. The Spaniards established themselves in the West Indies, and at the end of 1518 Cortes had started on that expedition which was to bring the empire of Mexico under Spanish dominion.



EUROPE in 1610

To illustrate Chapters XVI-XXII

- Dominions of Spanish Hapsburgs.....
 Dominions of Austrian Hapsburgs.....
 French and Imperial Boundaries.....
 MI.= MILAN; P.=PARMA; M.=MODENA.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION

THE long reign of Charles v. witnessed the development of the first stage of the Reformation, which parted Europe into two camps, and the prolonged rivalry between the emperor and the King of France. We shall see that period of rivalry finally leaving France without possessions in Italy, but with her frontier strengthened on the German side by the acquisition of Metz; and in possession, at last, of Calais, the one foothold on the continent which England had retained for a very little more than two hundred years. It leaves Spain in possession of nearly all Italy as well as of the Low Countries and of the county of Burgundy, while it leaves the Imperial succession with the Austrian Hapsburgs.

In England and Scotland at this stage the Reformation has not been completely victorious; in both countries the existing government is devoted to the papacy—in England under the reactionary Queen Mary, and in Scotland under the reactionary Queen Regent, Mary of Guise; but in both countries the reaction is on the verge of being crushed. In France the government is orthodox and oppressive towards its Protestant subjects, while its rivalry with Spain, an absolutely Romanist power, makes it ready to countenance and to ally itself with Protestantism outside its own borders. The Scandinavian countries have become Protestant; Switzerland, independent since the beginning of the century, is a centre of Protestantism. Protestantism prevails in the northern states of Germany and of the Low Countries; Romanism in the

southern states ; but in Germany the Protestant and the Catholic states have come to terms.

At the moment when Charles v. was elected emperor, French interests were in conflict with his on every side. Milan was held by Francis, but Charles had a claim on it as Charles v. a fief of the empire. Naples was held by Charles, and Francis I. but Francis had not resigned the Angevin claim there. France had absorbed the duchy of Burgundy, which Charles still regarded as part of his own lawful inheritance. A part of the Low Countries consisted of what were still technically fiefs of the French Crown. Finally, the competition for the empire had created a strong personal antagonism between the two monarchs.

Within his own personal dominions the sovereignty of Charles in Castile was still limited, while in the Low Countries princes and cities claimed privileges which also limited his powers. In Germany the power of the emperor was still more restricted, and the Constitution demands further attention.

The empire was, in fact, a collection of states, large and small, with the emperor as president. Of these states, seven held the leading position as 'Electorates,' with Constitution whose princes rested the choice of the emperor. of the Empire. Three were ecclesiastical, the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, or Trèves. Four were lay principalities, Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, and Bohemia ; but in other respects, Bohemia stood outside, having no part in the diet or council of the empire. Saxony at this time was divided between two branches of the same family ; the head of one being the Elector, while the head of the other held the title of Duke. The diet of the empire consisted of three colleges : the first consisting of the Electors, the second of the rest of the princes, and the third of the deputies of the free cities. There was no other representation of the commons, of vassals of the princes, or of the knights or lesser nobles who owned no feudal superiors except the emperor himself. Outside of the Electors, the three most important princes were those of Austria, Bavaria, and Hesse. There was a supreme Court of Justice called the Imperial Chamber, whose members were chosen by the diet.

Charles and Francis were both anxious for the support of the papacy and of England. Francis met King Henry at the famous field of the Cloth of Gold, but it was **The War in Italy.** Charles who got the support of England, and Charles also offered the pope better terms than his rival. When the war between them began, it appeared that Charles would sweep the board in Italy. He conquered Milan, which was handed over to Francesco Sforza. In 1523 another Medici, Clement VII., was raised to the papal throne through the influence of Charles. A brief tide of victory induced Francis to invade Italy, where at Pavia he met with a crushing defeat, and was himself taken prisoner. To Charles's allies this triumph seemed to make Charles himself too powerful; the pope and Sforza both turned against him. It was not long before England withdrew her support, presently going over to the French alliance. Charles, however, extorted from his prisoner the concession of all the points in dispute. Francis was hardly set free when he renewed the war, claiming that the promises made were not binding, as they had been given under compulsion. In Italy a league was formed against the emperor between Venice, Milan, and the pope. The emperor's forces captured Milan, marched on Rome, and being in arrear with their pay, sacked the Eternal City as Alaric himself had not sacked it, and held the pope a prisoner. Altogether affairs went badly for France, and when peace was made, she had once more to surrender nearly all her claims. In Italy Charles held the pope in the hollow of his hand, and Venice was the only really independent state left.

We must now turn to the course of the Reformation during these twelve years. Martin Luther's attack on the Indulgences **Luther's Challenge.** did not bring him directly under the ban of the pope, but it did bring upon him an immediate onslaught of the extreme clerical party among the ecclesiastics. Luther, however, made his appeal to the lay princes, who had a strong objection to Indulgences as carrying away large sums of money out of their own dominions to fill the papal coffers. Honest religious convictions had a very large share in the Reformation; but the desire of lay princes to share or to

appropriate the immense wealth of the Church, and to stop the immense contributions to the treasury of the papacy, was also a very important factor. Luther, plunged into a fiery controversy with clerical antagonists, found himself compelled to affirm his own adherence to doctrines of Huss and Wycliffe, which had been condemned as heretical. His opponents appealed to Leo x., and Leo issued a bull excommunicating Luther. Luther publicly burnt the bull of excommunication.

This was in December 1520; seven weeks later the diet of the empire met at Worms. Luther was summoned to Worms to answer for himself; he came under the protection of his own prince, the Elector Frederick of Saxony. The populace was on his side, and some of the princes. The majority of the latter, with the emperor, who wanted the pope's alliance, were against him. Luther stood boldly by what he had said, and refused to retract anything. Lest he should be captured by his enemies, and treated after the manner of Huss, on his departure his own friends kidnapped him, and hid him in the Wartburg, where he spent his time in translating the Bible into German. Charles procured from the diet, and issued, the Edict of Worms, which placed Luther under the ban as a heretic. But the emperor was immediately occupied with his French war; the princes in general did not care to enforce the edict. The extravagances of some of Luther's followers enabled him to appear again publicly as a moderating influence; it seemed that the princes would be won over to the cause of the Reformation.

Two risings brought a change. The knights, who had no political power in the empire, rose to assert themselves, partly against the Church, and partly against the princes. They were completely defeated, but the identification of their cause with the Reformation turned the princes against it. Immediately afterwards there was a great rising of peasants, whose demands at the present day scarcely seem unreasonable. To the princes they appeared unendurable. The insurrection developed into a widespread war, and the peasants were suppressed, but not till they themselves had been guilty of wild deeds of violence.

The Diet
of Worms,
1521.

The Knights'
War.

The Peasants'
War.

The peasant leaders had also raised the cry of religion; although Luther denounced them in unmeasured terms, and gave his whole support to the enforcement of law, the whole movement discredited the Reformation as being anarchical in its tendencies. On the other hand, the emperor and the pope were now in a state of keen antagonism. A diet, held at Speier or Spire, practically revoked the Edict of Worms, and left the settlement of religion in each state to its own prince.

Charles, however, had no sooner obtained the mastery over the pope, and come to terms with him, than he made clear his intention of returning to his earlier attitude. The **The Protest of Speier.** protest issued by the Lutheran leaders gave to their party the title of Protestants. The Protestants then drew up their own creed in the confession of Augsburg, and formed the league of Schmalkald in their own defence in 1530. But hostilities were for the time deferred by the advance from the east of the Turks, who were actually threatening Vienna. To the princes the Reformation had already meant the suppression of monasteries, and secularisation of Church lands—that is, their appropriation to the state, chiefly, though not exclusively, for educational purposes.

Meanwhile Switzerland had acted in something after the same fashion as Germany. The doctrines of the Swiss reformers were by no means identical with those of Luther, **Switzerland.** who denounced the Swiss leader Zwingli with great vigour. The Swiss had arrived among themselves at a compromise, under which each canton was left to settle its own affairs. In Denmark and in Sweden the governments successfully imposed Protestantism on their respective countries, not so much from any strength of religious conviction on the part of the rulers, or of religious fervour on the part of the people, as because the nobles in the one case and the impoverished state treasury in the other thus found a warrant for dispossessing the Church of its property.

The advance of the Turks against Vienna was the natural outcome of the expansion of their power in the early years of the century. Their sultan Selim had resumed the **2. The Turks.** aggressive policy, which for a time had been in abeyance. He re-established his dominion over Persia, over

THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION

Syria and Palestine, and over Egypt, where the rule of the Mamelukes was overthrown; and he compelled the last descendant of the Abbasid kaliphs to yield the kaliphate to him, thus claiming for himself the spiritual as well as the secular supremacy over the Mohammedan world, though this supremacy was not recognised by the Shiites or by sundry other sects. His fleets gave him possession of the African ports in the Mediterranean, and Christendom was still too much occupied with its own quarrels to do more than talk about arming against the Turk. Selim's successor, Suleiman the Magnificent, captured Belgrade on the Danube, where John Hunyadi had stayed the Turkish advance half a century before; and when, after a long siege and a heroic defence, he mastered Rhodes, hitherto successfully held as a Christian outpost of the Knights of St. John, Western Europe did nothing to save it. Half Hungary was inclined to accept the Turkish sovereignty; and Lewis, the last Polish King of Hungary and Bohemia, fell in a desperate struggle in which the Turks were victorious at Mohacs. The Crown of Hungary and Bohemia passed to Ferdinand of Austria, the brother of Charles v. Suleiman warned him that Vienna was doomed. In 1528 Suleiman appeared before its walls with a vast army; yet the vigour of the defence, small though the garrison was, compelled him to raise the siege. The disunion of the empire continued to prevent the organisation of the counter-attack, which circumstances demanded, but the Turks were unable to make themselves masters of additional territory, although they were actually dominant over the greater part of Hungary.

A check was given to the Turks. Charles v. defeated their corsair admiral, Chaireddin Barbarossa, and took possession of Tunis; but the French king sought this opportunity for forming alliances with every possible enemy of the emperor, including the Grand Turk himself, the German Protestant princes, and King Henry of England, who was carrying out his own ideas of a reformation in this country. But the German princes and Henry regarded the friendly offers of Francis with suspicion. The intrigues,

Selim.

Suleiman.

Charles v.
and the
Turks.

hostilities, and reconciliations, which followed for a time, need not be recorded; but in 1541 Charles felt himself free to lead a mighty fleet against Algiers. The fleet was shattered by storms, and so one more blow against the advancing Turk was spoilt.

The disaster again moved Francis to make war upon his rival. There was another French war, in which Charles got the support of England. Charles and Henry each declared that the other had played him false; and finally Charles made on his own account a peace with France, which, in actual fact, made no difference to the possessions of either power. Almost immediately afterwards both Francis of France and Henry VIII. of England died.

Between the Turks and the French king, Charles had hitherto been quite unable to risk a civil war in Germany. He had been obliged to compromise with the Protestants at the Pacification of Nuremberg, after the formation of the League of Schmalkald. The two religious parties continued in a state of latent hostility, which did not become positively active. What Charles himself wanted was to arrive at some compromise which would give the Protestants just enough satisfaction to make them cease to be dangerous, at least until he could feel secure against external attacks. This object he attempted to achieve at the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1541. As to the questions which vexed theologians he was probably completely indifferent, but he wished Germany to be united and authority to be respected.

The conference then was held at Ratisbon, at which both parties were represented by the men who were most conciliatory, and were disposed to go furthest in the direction of compromise. The conference was a failure, nevertheless; in plain terms the gulf could not be bridged; the reconciliation of creeds was impossible. Charles seems to have made up his mind at this stage, first that the Reformation must be crushed, and secondly that he must wait till he could crush it once and for all by a sudden and unexpected blow. For the moment he confirmed the treaty of Nuremberg, and the Protestants thought that their future was secured.

The emperor's opportunity came when he had made his peace with France, and when Luther died ; for Luther had at all times been most determined in his advocacy of peace.

Charles's object was to break up the League of Schmalkald which appeared too dangerous politically even in the eyes of some of the Protestant princes. Its chiefs were Philip of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony ; but the Duke Maurice of Saxony, and the Elector of Brandenburg, both Protestants, sided with the emperor. Suddenly Charles put the Protestant leaders to the ban of the empire. Duke Maurice attacked the Elector of Saxony. The elector and Philip of Hesse were both taken prisoner, and the electorate was transferred to Maurice. Charles was completely triumphant.

1546.

The
Schmalkaldic
War.

But as before the triumph of Charles alarmed his own allies, and Pope Paul II. became his enemy. Believing himself irresistible, Charles now on his own responsibility formulated what was called the Interim of Augsburg, a religious system which was to be observed until a religious settlement could be arrived at by a general council of the Church. It was intended to conciliate both parties, whereas both were disgusted by it. At the same time he was able to force upon the diet a modification of the Imperial Constitution, which gave him the entire control of the Imperial Chamber of Justice. A policy of Imperial absolutism in civil and religious matters alike was revealed, with the instant effect of arousing a new opposition. For the moment the emperor could enforce his own will. But Maurice of Saxony, to whom he had owed his success against the League of Schmalkald, had other views. Charles sought to push his victory by procuring the election of his own son Philip as his successor on the Imperial throne ; but to this his own brother Ferdinand, who claimed the succession for himself, was stubbornly opposed. Maurice entered into a secret agreement not only with the Protestant princes, but also with the French King Henry II. He was already in command of a large army, as the emperor's leading supporter ; suddenly, he turned it against the emperor himself. Charles was taken completely by surprise, and had to flee for his life, giving his brother Ferdinand authority to treat on his behalf. In accordance with the terms

Maurice
of Saxony.

of the agreement with Maurice, Henry of France seized Metz, from which it was found impossible to eject him; his success was of the utmost importance for future conflicts between France and Germany.

Charles was obliged to accept the Pacification of Passau, which secured the Protestant states in their Protestantism, and again placed the control of the Imperial Chamber of Justice with the diet. The Peace of Passau was confirmed by the Peace of Augsburg. A clause however was added, under protest from the Lutherans, called the Ecclesiastical Reservation, which provided that if any prelate went over to the Reformed Church he should at the same time resign, so that the ecclesiastical territories would remain unaffected. It is to be further remarked that no rights were secured to adherents of the reformed religion except the Protestants proper, that is to say the Lutherans. The general principle of the Pacification however was that each prince could enforce his own religion within his own territories.

The struggle so far has appeared to be one for the domination or the equality of Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism, but

other important elements had already been introduced in the Reformation. The Swiss reformers were in disagreement with the Lutherans on many important points of doctrine, and even among the Swiss there were two divisions. The dominant party was that at whose head

was John Calvin, himself a Frenchman, who had become a sort of dictator in the Canton of Geneva. Calvinism, not Lutheranism, had taken root in France as well as in Switzerland, in Scotland, in some parts of Germany, and in the Low Countries. England had followed a line of its own, which was neither Lutheran nor Calvinist but borrowed some elements from both schools. This disunion among the reformers afterwards stood seriously in the way of their presenting a solid front to Roman Catholic aggression.

On the other hand there was within the Roman Church an active movement for reformation, a revived religious fervour which found expression partly in a school which was honestly anxious for reconciliation with the reformers who were in open

revolt. Beside these were the no less sincere enthusiasts, Ignatius Loyola and his comrades, who founded the Society of Jesus, popularly known as the Jesuits, a militant missionary organisation which was to play a tremendously active part as soon as it became finally certain that reconciliation was impossible. The Jesuits.

But almost from the beginning there had been demands for a General Council of the Church to bring the religious antagonisms to a settlement. Every one of the interests concerned, however, desired a council to be held only under conditions which would secure the victory of its own particular views. A General Council.

The Protestants insisted that they should stand on equal terms with the adherents of the papacy, while the popes required the unqualified recognition of their own supremacy. It was obvious that whatever country the council should be held in, the decisions of the council would be materially influenced thereby. The emperor wanted it in German territory, the popes in papal territory, while France and England objected to both. At last the council was actually summoned at Trent, and over a period of some twenty years met at intervals sometimes at Trent and sometimes at Council of Trent.

Bologna. But from the outset it became evident that Protestantism would have no voice in its decisions, whether or no concessions might be made in some respects to Protestant opinion. We may anticipate by remarking that when the Council of Trent did come to an end in 1563, it had succeeded in defining Roman Catholic doctrine, but had set up an insurmountable barrier between Romanism on one side and every one of the Reformed Churches on the other.

In England, as we have remarked, the Reformation took a course of its own. An undercurrent of Lollardy had survived from the days of Wycliffe, but the English Reformation was not the work of Lollards. Henry VIII. and the From time immemorial, the secular authorities had resisted the claims of the Church to exercise an authority independent of their own. English ecclesiastics had sided with the Crown against the papacy or with the papacy against the Crown, mainly with a view to the maintenance of their own privileges and

immunities, whether these were threatened by the Crown or by the pope. Henry VIII. regarded himself as a theological expert and a champion of orthodoxy, and he would have nothing to say to the reformed doctrines. But the pope would not annul his marriage with Katharine of Aragon, since Charles v. her nephew championed her cause. Therefore Henry resolved to take the bull by the horns and repudiate papal authority. Therein he found support from bishop and clergy, though not from monks and friars. When he proceeded to declare himself head of the Church, the clergy carried protest as far as they dared, but were compelled to submit. The king also wanted money, and had exhausted the normal means of raising it. The Church was enormously wealthy, and he went on to despoil it, suppressing the monasteries and appropriating their lands on the pretext, for which there was evidence in some cases, that most of them were not seminaries of religion, but hot-beds of vice. There his so-called reformation stopped. But the attack on the power and political wealth of the Church inevitably sapped its authority, and prepared the way for an attack on the theological doctrines on which the claims of priestly authority rested.

Henry was no sooner dead than the council which governed the country in the minority of his son Edward VI. introduced changes in doctrines and ceremonial derived from Lollardy, or from the Lutherans, or from the Swiss schools of reformers; the clergy for the most part accepted the situation. But the young king died, and was succeeded by his elder half-sister Mary. She was a fervent devotee of the old faith, restored the old doctrines and the old ceremonial again with the general acquiescence of the clergy, and then began a persecution of the Protestants, in the course of which some three hundred were burnt at the stake, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer. The persecution turned the scale, for hitherto it had been extremely doubtful whether popular opinion was on the Protestant or the Roman Catholic side; and when Mary was succeeded by Elizabeth in 1558 the country on the whole welcomed a reversion to the Protestantism of the last reign. Incidentally, the Reformation in England had had the effect of creating in the

country a new political power, since the distribution of the monastic lands had brought into being a large new class of landed gentry which greatly strengthened the Commons House of Parliament.

The Peace of Augsburg left Charles practically defeated in all his ambitions. He had failed in his attempt to make himself, as emperor, the real master of Germany. He ^{Abdication} had failed to suppress Protestantism, as he had ^{of Charles V.} failed to effect a religious compromise. He had failed to secure the succession in the empire to his son. He had married that son to the English Queen Mary in the hope of thus adding another kingdom to the dominions of his house, and in this too he had failed since there was no offspring of the marriage. There was every probability that Scotland would be attached to France, as he had hoped to attach England to Spain, by the approaching marriage of the French Dauphin to the young Queen of Scots. In 1556 Charles abdicated, and his son Philip succeeded to the throne of Spain, to all his possessions in Italy, and to the Burgundian inheritance. His brother Ferdinand was in due course elected emperor, and Charles himself died two years later. In the interval England, involved by the Spanish marriage in a war with France, had lost Calais. Two months after the death of Charles, Elizabeth was Queen of England, and her long contest with her Spanish brother-in-law began.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NEW WORLD ; MEXICO AND PERU

THE reign of Charles v. is also the real period of the expansion of the Spanish power in America ; the period when the ancient native civilisations were annihilated. Mexico was invaded in the year of his accession, and Peru was conquered thirty years later. Columbus and his followers had occupied islands, and had begun to settle on the mainland or Spanish Main as it became afterwards to be called ; but the Pacific was first seen in 1513 and first crossed in 1521.

It is at this point then that America comes in contact with the general current of recorded history. This is therefore a convenient point for sketching the past history of the continent.

No satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at as to the origin of the races which peopled it ; whether they sprang up separately in America, or penetrated thither from North-east Asia, spreading on to Greenland and southwards to Patagonia. In 1. **The Races of America.** any case, as philologists have discovered no less than a thousand varieties in the languages spoken there, it is quite certain that the human race must have been in occupation of America for an enormous length of time.

With the exception of the Esquimaux in the Arctic regions, all the native peoples are referred to as Indians, simply because the discoverers of America imagined that it was India that they had reached. In North America the bulk of the peoples belonged to the group of Redskins or Red Indians ; the southern peoples vary considerably in colour, some of them being extremely dark ; but they appear to have no connection whatever with the negro races of our own hemisphere. Long

as they had been in occupation of America, they were some thousands of years behind the inhabitants of the other hemisphere in civilisation. In the year 1500 of our era the most advanced nations were at a stage comparable to that of Egyptians or Babylonians three or four thousand years earlier; of the rest none were more advanced than Celts or Teutons when we meet them in history for the first time, and many were in a far more primitive state. The civilised peoples whose dominions are dignified with the name of empires were all to be found in what we now call Mexico, Central America, and Tropical South America west of the seventieth degree of longitude. Even in these regions it is hardly probable that anything deserving the name of civilisation had been in existence for so much as a thousand years. American Civilisation.

It does not appear that what can be called records hitherto discovered go back beyond the tenth century of our era. About that time there existed a dynasty in Central America called the Toltecs. Somewhat less shadowy than the Toltecs are the Mayas, who certainly built large towns and great temples covered with elaborate carvings, which carry with them suggestions of early Egypt more than of anything else in the other hemisphere. The Spaniards found the Maya civilisation still in existence in Central America, but the advancing power was that of the Mexican Aztecs. Central America.

In the middle of the fifteenth century a great Mexican kingdom was established by Montezuma I. It was this Mexican kingdom which was overthrown by Cortes in 1520. To the south beyond the Isthmus were the kingdoms of the Chibchas, whose civilisation was still extremely primitive and barbarous. The Chibcha region corresponds roughly to the modern state of Colombia.

It was in Peru, however, further to the south, that the greatest advance had been made in the direction of civilisation. Here the Incas had ruled probably for three or four hundred years. Starting from Cuzco the Incas gradually extended a dominion by methods extraordinary for their humanity among primitive peoples. They came in arms, Peru.

but they sought to extend their rule not as destroyers but as benefactors. Wherever they went they brought with them a highly organised system of government; and they imposed their own rule as that of a superior race, the children of the Sun, a caste who reserved to themselves knowledge and authority, but used it for the benefit of their subjects—a claim which their subjects found to be entirely warranted.

The natives whom the Spaniards found in the islands and on their first visits to the mainland were exceedingly primitive,

2. Spanish but they heard rumours of nations of a different
Conquests. sort dwelling inland. The Spanish governor, Diego Velasquez, despatched an expedition to Mexico under Fernando
Mexico. Cortes. The party of four hundred Europeans

accompanied by half that number of natives had with them a few horses and a few guns, horses and guns being alike unknown in America. The fame of the Spaniards went before them. The ruler of Mexico was Montezuma II., who sent envoys to meet the strangers. Cortes announced that he had come from a great monarch in the east to visit the Emperor of Mexico, and desired permission to do so. Montezuma sent him presents, but forbade him to visit the capital.

Nevertheless, Cortes advanced. Some resistance was offered by intervening tribes, but the superiority of the Spanish arms was demonstrated at once. Cortes went on his way, and Montezuma did not venture to resist his entry into the city of Mexico. The king professed to welcome the strangers, and while refusing to adopt Christianity offered homage and tribute to the great eastern monarch whose servant Cortes declared himself to be. Evidence, however, that he was meditating treachery warranted Cortes in assuming control of the king's
Cortes and person. In the temporary absence of Cortes his
Montezuma. lieutenant Alverado, believing that the Mexicans were about to attack the Spaniards in the course of a great native festival, chose to strike first and attack the natives himself. The result was that Cortes on his return found the position of the Spaniards to be extremely dangerous. He compelled Montezuma to show himself to the populace, and proclaim his favour towards the Spaniards; but this only turned

the rage of the people on Montezuma himself, who was so injured by missiles that he died a few days later.

Cortes was obliged to cut his way out of Mexico with his little force, which suffered severely before it could extricate itself from the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. He succeeded, however, in attracting the support of native peoples, who had no love for the Mexican dominion; and was presently able to return to the attack and force his way into the capital, where he established himself and organised a government with great ability in the name of the King of Spain. From this time the Spanish supremacy in Mexico was secured.

A very different man from the chivalrous Cortes was the unscrupulous adventurer, Francisco Pizarro, who accomplished the conquest of Peru in 1533. Rumours had reached the Spaniards not only of a civilised Pizarro. nation, but of boundless wealth, silver and gold without limit, existing in the far west. Pizarro and other adventurers went on a private expedition, made up their minds that the prospect was good, and entered into a partnership to exploit the country. Pizarro hastened back to Spain, obtained a commission from the emperor, and returned to the west. Thus armed he was able to collect and equip a tiny force of about two hundred men, and with these he made his way down the west coast to Guayaquil.

The empire of the Incas was at the moment suffering from a disputed succession. The legitimate heir, Huascar, had been displaced by his brother Atahualpa. The arrival of the tiny body of Spaniards on Peruvian territory created no alarm, and Atahualpa sent messages inviting them to his presence. He received them on their approach, and the next day Conquest came in procession to meet them in their camp. of Peru.

All the conditions favoured the daring projects of the Spaniards, who seized the person of the unsuspecting Inca, while their guns and horsemen dealt slaughter among the hosts of the Peruvian army which, encamped hard by, hastened to the monarch's rescue. Atahualpa offered vast treasures as ransom, which the Spaniards agreed to accept. But, in the meantime, they discovered the existence of the other claimant to the throne,

Huascar. Atahualpa found out that they were intriguing with him, and ordered his execution. Pizarro, having got the ransom, turned on Atahualpa and executed him as an usurper who had murdered his brother.

Nothing is more remarkable than the completeness with which this small band crushed every attempt at resistance on the part of the Peruvians, in spite of their possession of a highly organised army. Steel, gunpowder and cavalry, and the defensive armour of the Spaniards, proved utterly irresistible against a people who, greatly as they had advanced in civilisation, had not learnt the use even of iron. There was no lack of valour among the Peruvians, but they found themselves absolutely powerless against the weapons of the conquerors. Thus was Peru also brought into subjection to the Spaniards.

The Spaniards extended their dominion to the Californian peninsula, and took possession of the mouth of the La Plata River on the south-east of South America; but **The Spanish Expansion.** they very soon learnt that ships containing treasure were unsafe unless they voyaged in companies, and the practice began of sending what was called the Plate Fleet home from South America at regular intervals. The great emporium was the city of Cartagena on the Caribbean Sea, near what we may call the stalk on which South America hangs like a pear. The treasures of Peru were brought thither by way of the Isthmus of Panama. In this new world of which they had taken possession, Queen Isabella had originally done her best to safeguard the natives against maladministration and against oppression, but with little effect. Practically they became merely slaves; and since they proved physically unfit for hard labour, and began dying out with great rapidity, while there was no European working population, the practice was instituted at an early stage of carrying off ship-loads of the hardier negroes from Africa to become slaves in the Spanish Indies.

With the exception of the Brazils bestowed on Portugal by the pope, the Spaniards had a monopoly of America, as the **other Voyagers.** Portuguese had a monopoly of the Indian Ocean and the Spice Islands of the Western Pacific. Both countries governed their colonies on the theory that they

were the private property of the Crown. No other European powers had at present come in competition with them. Further to the north the Cabots, Genoese in the employment of the English government, had discovered Labrador, probably before the Spaniards actually reached the American continent; but though voyages of exploration were made, there were no attempts at settlement. English and French sailors, however, both began to visit the Spanish settlements for trading purposes; and before long the Spanish government imposed trade regulations on the colonies, with the direct object of excluding these interlopers. Neither French nor English were disposed to admit the right of Spaniards or Portuguese to shut them out of the New World altogether, or to recognise the validity of the laws which excluded them; and hence there presently arose in the western seas something like a state of perpetual war, which in a strictly legal sense was plain piracy when England was nominally at peace with Spain, but was never regarded as such by any one except the aggrieved government.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ERA OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

DURING the reign of Philip II. the power of Spain was at its height. With the abdication of Charles V. it was separated from the empire; though not from Burgundy, including the Netherlands. But it had the supreme power in Italy; it held possession of the New World; and Philip, during his reign, annexed for himself the Crown of Portugal, and with it all the Portuguese possessions. The Spanish fleets and ships were the largest in the world; the Spanish soldiers had the highest reputation; and for a time at least Spanish armies were commanded by a military genius of the first rank, the Duke of Parma. The defect of the great empire lay in the scattered character of its possessions. Spanish troops could reach the Netherlands or Italy only by sea; France interposed by land. The empire was not homogeneous; it comprised in Europe three entirely distinct and antagonistic nationalities, one of which detested, while another did not love, the supremacy of Spain. Spanish dominion depended on the mastery of the sea, and during the reign that mastery was challenged both by England and by Philip's own revolting subjects in the Netherlands.

Philip regarded himself as the champion of the Church and the scourge of heresy. To stamp out heresy was his mission. The great engine of persecution was the ecclesiastical court of the Inquisition, which was established throughout his dominion; and he entirely declined to limit its operations. Vast as were his resources his government

was always inefficient, because he was incapable of placing confidence in any man, especially any man of ability. His aims were grandiose and far-reaching, his methods slow and ponderous. He never made up his mind to do the right thing until, owing to his delay, it had become the wrong thing.

Philip intended to crush England; when he died his fleets were at the mercy of the English sailors. He meant to crush the Netherlands; when he died the victory of the Netherlands, in their struggle for liberty, was all but assured. He wished to dominate France, and when he died the Spanish party in France had almost ceased to exist. The one thing that he did actually accomplish was to make the Crown absolutely supreme in the dominions which remained under his sway; and to this perhaps it may be added that he had succeeded in convincing himself and the rest of the world so thoroughly of the magnitude of his power, that politicians continued to dread Spain long after she had ceased to be capable of striking any effective blow. His Failure.

It was fortunate for Philip that during this period France was perpetually prevented by her internal discords from depriving him of the European leadership. The direct line of the house of Valois ended, like the direct line of the old house of Capet, with the reign of a series of brothers, none of whom left children. During the greater part of three successive reigns the dominant personality in politics was that of the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, who, ignored by her husband Henry II. while he lived, bided her time and reigned while his sons wore the French Crown. To keep the power in her own hands she persistently played off the Catholics and the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, against each other, that she might prevent the chiefs of either party from becoming masters of the state. The century was almost at its close before the perpetual embroilments of the two religious factions were brought to an end; and it might be said that for five and thirty years a civil war was either actually going on, or had just been stopped, or was just going to begin again. France.

THE AGE OF HAPSBURG ASCENDENCY

In Germany the religious strife was settled for the time being by the Peace of Augsburg. Under emperors who were officially orthodox Catholics, but adopted a liberal attitude **Germany.** towards Protestantism, a critical struggle between the two faiths was deferred; to be then complicated by the Calvinism of sundry Protestant princes which alienated from them the Lutherans, who imagined that their own position had been secured by the Peace of Augsburg. In the meantime the effect was to cause Germany to stand aside altogether from the religious conflicts raging in the west of Europe.

In Spain and in Italy Protestantism was practically non-existent; in England and Scotland its victory was practically secured before Charles v. had been dead three years; **English** secured at least so long as Elizabeth should reign **Protestantism.** in England, for the plain reason that in the eyes of English Catholics not Elizabeth but Mary Stuart was the legitimate queen. For Elizabeth's legitimacy depended on the validity of the marriage of her mother Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII., whereas the pope had pronounced that marriage invalid. There were no other legitimate descendants of Henry VIII., who had no younger brother; while Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, was the grandchild of his eldest sister. Hence Elizabeth had no choice but to rely on the loyalty of her Protestant subjects. This necessity for her Protestantism became all the more marked when a papal bull issued by Pope Pius v. absolved the Catholics of their allegiance to her while authorising them to pretend loyalty.

In Scotland, on the other hand, Protestantism won, partly from its appeal to the national instinct for independence, partly **Scotland.** because the bulk of the nobles were at feud with the Roman Catholic priesthood, who had for long been the mainstay of the royal authority in its struggle with them, and of whose property they intended to possess themselves. When Francis II. of France died after a reign of a few months, and his young widow Mary Queen of Scots returned from France where she had been brought up to her own country, she found the two most powerful men in the kingdom to be the advanced Calvinistic reformer John Knox and her half-brother James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Murray, the leader of the reform

party. The tragic story of her reign, the ill-fated marriage with her cousin Darnley, his murder and her marriage with his murderer, her enforced abdication in favour of her infant son, the rally of her supporters and her flight to England, form a painful and picturesque episode in Scottish history. For nearly twenty years she remained a prisoner in England, the centre of every plot for the removal of Elizabeth and for the restoration of a Romanist monarchy. Meanwhile the Protestant lords governed Scotland, and in England Romanism was more and more identified, both by the government and in popular opinion, with disloyalty.

For fifty years after the death of Charles v. the interest of European history is fixed upon the struggle between Spain and the Netherlands, between Spain and England, and Centre of Interest. between Catholics and Huguenots in France. These three struggles are perpetually overlapping each other and becoming involved together, while in all three the predominant element is sometimes religious and sometimes political.

In France throughout the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II. the Crown had constantly repressed the Huguenots while it was quite ready to ally itself with Protestants against 2. France :
The Hugue-
nots. Catholics abroad. On the other hand many of the nobles were Huguenots by conviction, and many others hoped to gain power for themselves by supporting the Huguenots. The Bourbon or Navarre branch of the royal family which stood next in succession to the throne after the sons of Henry II. took the Huguenot side, on which the greatest name was that of Admiral Coligny. At the head of the other party was the powerful family of Guise, whose chief was the most popular and successful soldier in France. It was for a long time the policy of Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother, to prevent either party from being crushed, lest the control of the government should pass from her own hands into those of its chiefs. Foreign policy, however, was dominated by the fear of Spain, and therefore by an inclination to support the Protestant powers and Protestant rulers in antagonism to Spain.

In the Netherlands also the question had two aspects. The north-eastern group of the states over which Philip of Spain ruled had embraced the Calvinistic Protestantism ; 3. The Netherlands. the south-western group were in the main strongly Catholic. Philip's resolution to stamp out heresy was a grievance only in the Protestant states. But Philip was no less determined to enforce his own system of a centralised government in the hands of Spanish officials, and this was an alien tyranny in the eyes of all Netherlanders alike. The Catholic nobles themselves viewed with extreme disfavour, as an encroachment upon their own jurisdiction, the power of the ecclesiastical court of the Inquisition, which had been instituted here as elsewhere for the suppression of heresy.

Fierce popular insurrections took place, and while the nobles were anxious to keep these in check they were equally anxious to preserve their own traditional liberties. Their leaders were the Catholic Count Egmont and the Calvinist Prince William of Orange and Nassau, whose best-known title is taken from a principality in the south of France. Philip entrusted the government of the Netherlands to the Duke of Alva, who Alva. established a bloodthirsty military tyranny ; and, besides carrying on a savage religious persecution, imposed intolerable financial burdens on Catholics as well as Protestants, and executed the popular Count Egmont. Even the Emperor Maximilian II., Ferdinand's successor, protested in vain. The Netherlands rose in revolt, but Alva was too strong, and instituted a reign of terror which seemed to crush out all resistance. But it also bade fair to crush out all prosperity. Again the Netherlands rose in revolt in 1572, and maintained the struggle until, nearly forty years later, the northern provinces achieved their independence.

Meanwhile there had been in France two civil wars of religion and two pacifications. The first contest was terminated by the 4. France : Wars of Religion. Peace of Amboise, which granted a considerable degree of toleration to the Huguenots. But a meeting between Catherine de Medici and Alva gave rise to a belief that the two were agreed upon a general destruction of the reformed religion. Again war broke out, and again it was terminated by a treaty confirming the Peace of Amboise.

But the peace was only a truce. Twelve months later the war was again in full swing. But Catherine, perceiving that Philip of Spain meant to turn the Guise party to his own uses, began to incline to the Protestant side. Again a treaty confirmed the toleration granted before to the Huguenots, and Huguenot influence now predominated with the young King Charles ix. The Queen Mother again saw power slipping from her own grasp. In 1572 an immense number of Huguenots were assembled in the fanatically Catholic city of Paris to celebrate the wedding of young Henry of Navarre, the head St. Bartholomew. of the Bourbons, with the king's youngest sister.

With the connivance of Catherine, the Guises organised a massacre of the Huguenots on the night of St. Bartholomew. Some twenty thousand Protestants were slaughtered, including Coligny, and similar massacres followed in other parts of the country.

The pope celebrated the event by a service of thanksgiving, and Philip of Spain rejoiced ; but the world stood aghast. The hope that France under a Huguenot régime would support the revolt of the Netherlands was destroyed. But Catherine saw that whether intentionally or not she had gone too far in surpassing Alva's atrocities. The Huguenots began to Reaction. recover ground ; and three years after the massacre, when Henry III. had succeeded Charles ix., the Edict of Poitiers once more granted a degree of toleration to the Huguenots, after which the pacification endured for seven years. It is to be observed that while King Henry was himself a bitter Catholic he was on ill terms with the Guises, and his younger brother Francis of Anjou associated himself with the moderate leaders of the Huguenots. When Francis died in 1594 the Huguenot Henry of Navarre became heir-presumptive to the French throne.

The recall of Alva, and the effect on public sentiment of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, brought about a less savage régime in the Netherlands, and the consequent abstinence of the southern states from the revolt which the northern 5. Netherlands : states maintained with a magnificent obstinacy. Renewed revolt. They were determined to hold out to the last in their demands for religious freedom, the restoration of the old form of government, and the withdrawal of the

Spanish troops, none of which Philip would concede. But a sudden outbreak of the Spanish troops, known as 'The Spanish Fury,' once again roused the whole country, and north and south joined in the pacification of Ghent to renew their demands for freedom. Alva's successor was dead. He was followed by John of Austria, Philip's half-brother, who saw the necessity for making concessions which again parted the Catholic from the Protestant states.

On his death, within two years, the governorship was given to Alexander of Parma, Philip's nephew, who continued the policy of conciliating the Catholic provinces. Systematically, inch by inch, he proceeded with the subjugation of the northern provinces, which still held together in the Union of Utrecht under the leadership of the Prince of Orange. The united provinces declared their own independence, and would have placed themselves under the protectorate of either the Queen of England or Francis of Anjou. Elizabeth declined, and Anjou played the traitor. Then the great chief William of Orange was assassinated. It was well that just at this moment Elizabeth's hand was about to be forced, and she was at last compelled to make open war against Spain. From 1585 the Spaniard had England on his hands as well as the people whom we may henceforth call the Dutch.

Ever since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign she and Philip had been covertly at war, though outwardly at peace, each desiring to defer an open struggle. Philip wished to finish off the Netherlands before turning on England. Elizabeth hoped to evade a contest altogether by delay, while she also knew that with every year England was growing stronger and stronger, and Spain was becoming more and more exhausted. In the meantime her sailors ignored the Spanish trade-laws, and forced their trade on the Spanish colonies at the sword's point. The Spaniards were not content to treat them as pirates, but handed over the English sailors, when they got hold of them, to the Inquisition, to be dealt with as heretics. Thus the English regarded themselves as champions of the reformed faith, warranted like the Israelites of old in despoiling the Egyptians and the Amalekites. With

a clear conscience they robbed the Spaniards on the Spanish Main, and captured their treasure-ships on the high seas. Francis Drake sailed round the world, and brought home untold treasure. The King of Spain demanded that the 'pirate' should be surrendered to him for justice, and the Queen of England replied by knighting him. Philip, and Philip's agents, responded by being in the thick of every plot for the assassination of Elizabeth and the liberation of Mary Stuart. At last matters reached the point at which Eliza- **The Armada,** beth entered into open alliance with the Dutch; 1588.

and, when she had done so, executed Mary Stuart herself as an accomplice in the Babington conspiracy for the English queen's assassination. Then Philip prepared for a mighty invasion of England; in 1588 he despatched the great Armada, which was first shattered by the English fleet, and then annihilated by storms. From that hour English fleets decisively ruled the seas.

• Philip reigned for ten years after the destruction of the Armada. He constructed three more Armadas, but all to no purpose. The English and Dutch had learnt the **Philip's** vital principle, forgotten for centuries, that a **Schemes** fighting ship should be a weapon of war and not **break down.** merely a floating barrack for soldiers; consequently, Spanish ships could never hold their own against English or Dutch ships. In the Netherlands William's son, Maurice of Nassau, proved himself a worthy rival of Parma in the art of war, while that great commander was perpetually hampered by his master's distrust, his lack of supplies, wrong-headed instructions, and finally by being twice called upon at a critical moment to turn his arms into France. When Parma died the prospects of a Spanish victory vanished, though the struggle was still maintained for several years. The war was brought to an end in 1609 with what practically amounted to an acknowledgment of the independence of the United Provinces, those which Parma had retained being known for a century to come as the Spanish Netherlands.

There were those in England who would have had Elizabeth devote herself to the utter overthrow of Spain, the ruin of her

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commerce, and the capture of her colonies. But Elizabeth did not wish to see Spain ruined; she desired its preservation as **The Maritime War.** a counterpoise to France. Therefore she succeeded for the most part in making the war into a sort of perpetual raid on the Spanish Plate Fleets, only once or twice allowing more serious blows to be struck, and making no attempt to appropriate Spanish colonies.

Walter Raleigh, however, made a series of attempts to plant on the northern continent a real colony, which should be the **English Colonisation.** nucleus of a new England beyond the seas, where English men and women should make permanent homes for themselves, and for their descendants. Raleigh's efforts failed; but the idea, as a commercial speculation, took root in other minds. When King James of Scotland, the son of Mary Stuart, succeeded Elizabeth on the throne of England, by right of inheritance, a charter was granted to a mercantile company to set up a colony, to which they gave the name Virginia, which Raleigh had chosen for his own settlements in honour of the Virgin Queen. After many vicissitudes the new colony established itself securely, the first of a series, which were ultimately to separate from the British Empire and form the United States of America. The accession of the Scots King James in England united the Crowns of England and Scotland, though the two nations were not incorporated in the one kingdom of Great Britain till a century later.

In 1580, on the death of the King of Portugal, Philip claimed the succession in right of his mother, excluding the stronger claim of the house of Braganza. Portugal was **7. Portugal.** thus involved in Philip's wars with the English and Dutch, and at the turn of the century the English and Dutch both began to make entry into the eastern seas, where hitherto Portugal had ruled supreme. From this were to arise the English settlements on the Indian coast, whence after a hundred and fifty years sprang the British dominion in India and the Dutch settlements in the Spice Islands, from which Holland derived substantial wealth.

In France, as was noted above, the death of Francis of Anjou left Henry of Navarre heir-presumptive to the French throne,

King Henry III. being childless. The Catholic leaders headed by the Guises formed what was called the Catholic League, to exclude the heretic prince from the succession, on the principle which Philip of Spain was proclaiming, that any and every heretic was necessarily barred from any throne. In passing we may remark that it was on this plea that Philip, who could trace descent from our Edward III., through a sister of our Henry IV., pretended that he was the lawful sovereign of England after Mary Stuart was beheaded. King Henry III. found himself to his own extreme disgust in the hands of Henry, Duke of Guise, while Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots took up arms to secure the recognition of the Huguenot leader as heir to the throne.

**8. France:
the Succession.**

Hence arose what is called the War of the Three Henries. Guise was assassinated on behalf of the king; nine months afterwards the king himself was assassinated in return, and Henry IV. had to fight for the throne, to which he was legitimate heir, against the League. The League had no one who could plausibly be proposed as having a legitimate title to the French throne, except by setting aside the law of male succession and nominating the Spanish Princess Isabella, whose mother had been sister of the last three Valois kings. Thus the League assumed the appearance of in effect proposing to subject France to Philip's control; nor were matters improved by the suggestion that the princess should marry either one of the Austrian Hapsburgs or one of the Guises. Henry IV. made the most of this situation, and before very long allowed it to be understood that he was willing to satisfy the Catholics by returning to the bosom of the Church while securing religious liberty to the Protestants.

Until then the fortunes of war varied, since Henry's successes were counteracted by the intervention of Parma. But when Parma died, and Henry definitely declared himself Catholic, there was a great accession of Catholics to his side. Philip was now fighting to gain the Crown for his own daughter, and the League was fighting to put a Spaniard on the throne. When the Guises obtained terms for themselves Philip's war became hopeless, and the

**The Bourbon
Dynasty
established.**

Bourbon dynasty was established on the French throne by the Peace of Vervins in 1598.

Henry had before him the task of settling the religious problems, and of reorganising the government and the finances ruined by the long civil wars. The first problem was dealt with by the Edict of Nantes, which gave the Huguenots almost complete religious liberty. The organisation of finance was placed in the hands of the able and conspicuously honest Sully. Great and successful efforts were made to revive both commerce and agriculture, and to enforce justice in the administration. But it was inevitable that under such circumstances a vigorous king should seek³ to concentrate power in his own hands, and Henry iv. established the Bourbon monarchy on that basis of absolutism which was to be consummated by Louis xiv. more than half a century after his death.

In Germany the religious truce established at Augsburg was showing signs of breaking down some time before the close of the sixteenth century. Ferdinand and his successor Maximilian II. had both aimed not at religious unity but at mutual toleration by Catholics and Protestants. Rudolph II., who followed them, was emphatically anti-Protestant when he did intervene, but his political activity was limited. Serious questions however arose. The Archbishop of Cologne, one of the Electors, became Protestant, and still refused to resign his see, thus transferring the Electoral majority from the Catholics to the Protestants. But because the archbishop joined not the Lutherans but the Calvinists, the Catholics were enabled to win a victory and eject the archbishop. The Catholics thus secured a majority in the Imperial chamber, and it became evident that they were going to press the advantage which they now possessed.

The one hope for Protestantism lay in the union of the reformers, but Lutherans and Calvinists were hardly less opposed to each other than to the Catholics. The Approach of War. Lutheran Saxony suppressed its own Calvinists, while the Palatinate was equally emphatic in its Calvinism. In

1609 matters had assumed so threatening an aspect, and the Austrian Hapsburgs were drawing so closely to their Spanish kinsmen, that Henry iv. of France was about to head what might be called an anti-Hapsburg League when he was assassinated, and French influence in Europe was lost for the time being under the regency of his widow. The real outbreak was to come over the question of succession to the Crown of Bohemia.

CHAPTER XX

THE ERA OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

RUDOLPH II. was succeeded as emperor by his brother Matthias. The succession to him was settled upon Ferdinand of Styria, his cousin, a prince of ability and vigour, but an aggressive Catholic. Matthias had succeeded to the Crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, but Bohemia claimed that the Crown was elective; and being a Protestant country, Ferdinand's succession there was likely to be disputed. The Bohemians, however, were surprised into electing him as heir. A strong repressive policy was at once entered upon, and there was an immediate Protestant revolt. Matters were still in the balance when Matthias died. Ferdinand secured the Imperial Crown, but at the same time Bohemia repudiated its previous decision, deposed Ferdinand, and chose for its king Frederick the Elector Palatine, the nominal head of the Protestant Union of Germany and the son-in-law of James, King of England. The King of Bohemia was an elector of the empire; the recognition of Frederick's election as king by Bohemia, of which the legality was more than doubtful, would give him a double vote, and would transfer a vote from the Catholics to the Protestants. The Catholic princes at once united against Frederick, while the Lutheran princes refused to espouse his cause because he was a Calvinist, and also because Ferdinand promised them various concessions as the reward of their neutrality.

Thus began the Thirty Years' War. Within fifteen months of his election Frederick was completely routed at the White Hill, in Bohemia, and Spanish troops in alliance with Ferdinand

were pouring into the Palatinate from the Spanish Netherlands and Burgundy. Frederick himself had to take refuge in Holland. His territories were in the hands of his enemies, and shortly afterwards he was deprived of the electoral dignity, which was transferred from the Palatinate to Bavaria, whose King Maximilian was the ablest of all the Catholic princes and the most valuable of Ferdinand's supporters. Frederick's father-in-law, King James of England, refused to support him when he accepted the Crown of Bohemia, but was extremely anxious for the recovery of the Palatinate. This end, however, he hoped to achieve through the alliance of Spain and England, by marrying his son to the Princess of Spain; an entirely futile hope, since Spain was still as zealous as ever for the destruction of Protestantism, and had everything to gain from the aggrandisement of the Austrian Hapsburg. Moreover, the English people did not care greatly about the Palatinate, but had a firm conviction that if any one ought to be attacked it was Spain, as the natural enemy of Protestantism and of England.

On the other hand the Lutheran princes of Germany were now taking alarm at the rapid advance of the Hapsburg power, and the severe repression of Protestantism in the conquered territories.

In France, after the death of Henry iv., the regency was reactionary and feeble. As the young King Louis grew up, he saw the need of strengthening the central government, which was threatened by the increasing independence of the nobles, while the public peace was endangered by the reviving friction between Catholics and Huguenots. Louis was no master of statecraft, but he had the invaluable quality in a king of bestowing his confidence where it was deserved. The minister to whom he trusted himself was Cardinal Richelieu. Richelieu's policy was the policy of Henry iv.; a policy of religious toleration, of antagonism to the Hapsburgs, and of concentrating power in the hands of the Crown. Under his direction France now intervened. The intervention was brief, because there was a revolt on the part of the Huguenot nobles; but it revived the activity of the Protestants, and encouraged the intervention of other powers.

The War
breaks out.

Richelieu.

Incidentally also England was detached from the proposed matrimonial alliance with Spain, and instead of the Spanish princess the French king's sister Henrietta Maria was presently betrothed to the Prince of Wales.

It was in short being realised that the war in Germany was really an international affair; that it would develop into a campaign against Protestantism, which for various reasons involved Denmark, Sweden and Poland as well as Hungary, outside the limits of the empire itself. As concerns Denmark it is enough to say that the Danish king held Holstein as a fief of the empire, as well as certain Imperial bishoprics. As to the other countries named a brief retrospective sketch becomes necessary.

In Poland the reformed religion had made considerable progress. The reigning family of the Jagellons died out in 1572, and the Polish Estates thereupon resolved, first that the monarchy should be entirely elective henceforth, and secondly that Protestants and Catholics should have equal political rights. The king was to be merely a nominal head of what was in fact an aristocratic republic. The third king elected was Sigismund, who was also heir to the throne of Sweden. Sigismund, however, was a strong Catholic, and set about restoring Catholic ascendancy in Poland. When he became King of Protestant Sweden, his attempts to pursue the same policy there resulted in his deposition in favour of his uncle, Charles IX., who ruled with vigour and success, and was succeeded by his son Gustavus Adolphus in 1611. Sweden had disputes with Denmark on the one side, and on the other was threatened by Sigismund of Poland with his claim to the Swedish throne.

At this stage Russia becomes a factor in the complications. We saw that Ivan III. freed himself from the Mongol dominion. During the sixteenth century his successors, notably

Russia. Ivan the Terrible, extended the Russian kingdom on one side to the Caspian Sea, and tried to extend it on the other side to the Baltic. Here, however, Poland stood in the way, and the Russian expansion was forced back. Then while Charles IX. was ejecting Sigismund from Sweden, the ruling

house of Russia died out. Sweden and Poland both involved themselves in the Russian dynastic struggle which inevitably followed. In the result Russia made cessions of territory both to Sweden and to Poland, but remained independent under the dynasty of the Romanoffs whom she chose herself; while Sigismund and Gustavus Adolphus were left to battle with each other for territories on the Baltic.

As concerns Hungary we have to remark that the country had now fallen practically into three divisions: one under the control of Austria; another under Turkish Hungary. dominion; while the third, Transylvania, was really an independent principality ruled by Bethlen Gabor. The aggressive movement of Turkey had ceased towards the end of the sixteenth century, some time after the Turkish fleets had been defeated in the famous battle of Lepanto in 1572; so that there was no immediate pressure from that quarter to hamper the emperor in the German Thirty Years' War to which we can now revert.

In 1626 Christian of Denmark came forward as a prince of the empire to head the Protestant resistance to the Catholic advance. His intervention proved futile. The 3. Germany Imperial armies were successful on all hands, but and the War. the Imperial policy itself had changed. In the earlier stage of the war Ferdinand had in effect been in the hands of the Catholic princes headed by Maximilian of Bavaria, Wallenstein. who had reaped most of the fruits of victory. The successful General Tilly was the instrument of Maximilian rather than of Ferdinand, and Catholic domination was the object in view. But in this second stage there was a new Imperial army in the field, raised by the energy of the Bohemian Wallenstein. It was Wallenstein, not Tilly, who swept down resistance, and Wallenstein's object was to make the emperor personally supreme, a project which was no more to the taste of the Catholic princes than to that of the Protestants; while all German nobility was offended by the rise to power of a Bohemian upstart. The issue was no longer single and direct, when the Catholics found themselves labouring in the cause of a universal Hapsburg domination.

Wallenstein wanted the control of North Germany and the command of the Baltic. The maritime towns of the Hanseatic League refused to be attracted to the Imperial side, and he met his first rebuff when Stralsund refused to open its gates and successfully defied siege. Wallenstein had made it clear that he cared nothing about religious differences. He meant to have an overwhelmingly strong army, with the most efficient officers and men, whether they were Protestants or Catholics, maintained not exclusively by pillage as had been the case with the troops of the Protestant leaders, and even with Tilly's troops, but by forced contributions from Catholics and Protestants alike. He would have created a military empire in which the real ruler would have been the captain of the Imperial army. Ferdinand, on the other hand, influenced by the League, took this opportunity in 1629 to issue what is called the Edict of Restitution, which restored to the Catholics all those bishoprics which had passed into Protestant hands during the last seventy years. This would have created a number of Catholic principalities in the heart of the Protestant north. On the one hand this was obviously incompatible with Wallenstein's plans, so far as they disregarded the religious question; on the other, it gave an impulse to a more active combination among the Protestants.

Although Richelieu was suppressing Protestants in France, he desired the comparative success of Protestantism in Germany as a check on the Hapsburgs, and he negotiated a peace between Sweden and Poland which set Gustavus Adolphus free to throw his sword in the scale. This the Swedish king was the more eager to do, not only from his honest zeal for Protestantism, but because the Imperial scheme was a serious threat to Sweden and her power in the Baltic. The great Swedish soldier landed in Pomerania, just when the German Catholic princes had forced Wallenstein into retirement. For some time, however, Gustavus was compelled to remain inactive by the persistent neutrality of Saxony and Brandenburg, while the great city of Magdeburg was besieged, stormed, and sacked, with a ferocity almost unparalleled. That turned the scale at last. Saxony joined Gustavus, and the

victory of Breitenfeld suddenly transferred the domination of Germany to the Protestant King of Sweden.

We need not follow the campaigns which brought about the complete reversal of the previous situation. The triumphs of Gustavus compelled the emperor to recall Wallenstein, who was now determined to play for his own hand. The two great generals met at the battle of Lützen, where Gustavus himself fell in the hour of victory. There was no one to succeed him capable of carrying out his policy of uniting German Protestantism. A year later Wallenstein was murdered, and the war became a chaos of conflicts with the Swedes fighting for their own hand, the French seeking to snatch Rhine provinces for themselves out of the general confusion, and princes on both sides chiefly engaged in the general game of grabbing territories.

The Thirty Years' War was brought to an end in 1648 by the series of treaties known as the Peace of Westphalia. It had devastated Germany and half depopulated it. It made anything like a unification of the empire impossible for two centuries. It left Austria nothing more than the strongest among the German states, with a merely titular supremacy. It added to the territories of some princes, and took away from those of others, while it gave Sweden a definite foothold south of the Baltic, and it left France the greatest military state in Europe. As to the religious question, it practically restored the Peace of Augsburg, with some modifications in favour of the Protestant interpretations of that compromise, and with an extension to the Calvinists of the rights which had been previously conceded only to the Lutherans. Germany had become practically a collection of states large and small, owing a merely nominal allegiance to the Austrian emperor; and it is Austria, not the empire, Austria with its kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, which now has to be recognised as a European power.

While Germany was tearing herself to pieces, England and Scotland were somewhat similarly occupied with a struggle which was partly religious and partly constitutional. The Crown attempted to render itself absolute, and to impose religious

Later Stages
of the War.

The Peace of
Westphalia,
1648.

uniformity. But in England the people held the power of the purse. The revenues at the king's disposal were not sufficient to

enable him to maintain troops at his own cost.

4. England
and Scot-
land.

For that purpose it was necessary to obtain grants

from the House of Commons. Without troops the

king could not enforce his will, and he endeavoured by every device for which he could obtain the authority of the Law Courts to extract from his subjects the money which they would not grant him

The Civil
War.

except on their own terms. The practical effect was that on the one hand the king was still unable to

obtain sufficient supplies, and the parliament practically claimed the control of policy as a condition of granting them. After long wrangles, and an attempt on the part of the king, extended over eleven years, to live by his exactions, the Crown was reduced to extremities when the Scots took up arms in defence of their religious liberties.

The English parliament was summoned that it might grant supplies for the Scots war. It refused supplies, attainted the king's great minister Strafford, and arraigned the king himself of unconstitutional practices. A civil war resulted. The arms of the parliament triumphed, and Charles became a prisoner; but the power of control passed from parliament itself to the captains of its army. The king attempted by intrigues and plots to recover his own ascendancy. Insurrections in his favour were crushed, and almost at the moment when the treaty of Westphalia was completed Charles was arraigned on the charge of treason before an unconstitutional tribunal, and was executed.

For nine years England was practically under the control of the military dictator, Oliver Cromwell, who received the title of

The Com-
monwealth.

Lord Protector. Under the Commonwealth England

was able to adopt a vigorous foreign policy from which she had been debarred by the strife between the Crown and the parliament. But such a military monarchy, inevitably ignoring all tradition, was intolerable to England, and its continuity was impossible as soon as Cromwell himself died. In 1660 the nation recalled the exiled King Charles II.

But while Crown and parliament were wrangling during the reign of James I., and the earlier years of Charles I., England

was laying the foundations of a great nation on the other side of the Atlantic. American colonisation began, as we have already seen, in Virginia; but it received a fresh impulse from the persecution by the Crown of the Puritans, the advanced reformers who were not satisfied with the changes in doctrine and ceremonial which had been sanctioned in the Church in England. Forbidden at home to deviate from authorised practice, the Puritans obtained leave to plant colonies to the north of Virginia, where they were at liberty to follow their own devices; and thus the New England group of colonies was established, starting from Massachusetts; while again to the north, French colonists were establishing themselves in Acadia, afterwards called Nova Scotia, and beyond the St. Lawrence in Canada. In the course of time English colonists occupied the whole seaboard between Florida on the south and Nova Scotia on the north.

The
American
Colonies.

Holland also, as we may now call the Dutch Republic of the United Netherlands, which had shaken off the yoke of Spain, had developed colonial enterprises, so that in the eastern seas she held the foremost position. Holland was a republic; but the house of Orange provided her with a series of Stadtholders or Governors of great ability, and the government might really be described as a limited monarchy. Shortly before the death of Charles I. of England, the young stadtholder William II. allied himself to a royal house by marrying Charles's daughter Mary. Not long afterwards William was foiled in an attempt to make himself king, and during the long minority of the son, born after his death, who ultimately became William III. of England as well as of Orange, Holland was vigorously republican under the guidance of the Grand Pensionary, John de Witt. The connection of the young Prince of Orange with the Royal House of England, whose kings Charles II. and James II. were his uncles, had a marked influence on international politics especially after the English Restoration.

5. Holland.

Although Holland was independent after 1609, her status as an independent nation was not fully and formally recognised until the Peace of Westphalia, when the independence of

Switzerland was also formally acknowledged. Nevertheless, before the middle of the century Holland ranked as the most Dutch and considerable of the maritime powers, though her English. claim to that position was challenged by England immediately after the close of the Civil War. The energy which created for the English parliament troops which were a match for any in Europe restored her fleet also to the position which it had held at the end of Elizabeth's reign. It cannot be said that either English or Dutch could prove a clear superiority, but no one else could pretend to rival either. In virtue of the fleet, the little group of provinces which had fought so stubbornly against the might of Spain was able to take rank with the first-class European powers.

Spain, though she was at no time during the seventeenth century an efficient power, generally succeeded in persuading herself and the world that she was still to be dreaded, 6. Spain. and her recovery would in fact have been perfectly possible under vigorous rulers free from the domination of the clergy. But such power as she possessed was steadily on the wane, and she did little beyond distracting the attention of France and England from the war in Germany. In 1740 the house of Braganza reasserted its claim to the Portuguese Crown, which it recovered largely by French assistance after a prolonged struggle. Both in Sicily and in Naples there were popular revolts against the Spanish rule, though in both the government succeeded with some difficulty in recovering its authority.

With the exception of Holland, the one power which actually advanced its position in Europe during this period was France. 7. France The active intervention of Richelieu in the Thirty under Richelieu. Years' War was checked by the Huguenot revolt. This led to the long siege ending in the capture of La Rochelle, the great fortress and port of the Huguenots. Its overthrow broke the Huguenot resistance, but was not used for The Huguenots. the destruction of that party. The earlier treaties had left them in complete military control of several fortified cities, of which they were now deprived; but their ordinary rights as citizens remained to them. But the cardinal's determination to check abuses of administration were extremely

unpalatable to the nobles who profited by them. Plots were formed for his overthrow, in which the Queen Mother and other members of the royal family participated. Still, the cardinal retained his influence over the king, and although it seemed for a moment that his enemies had triumphed, he was able to turn the tables upon them, and many of them fled over the border. Richelieu's hostility to the house of Hapsburg might have brought Hapsburg troops to the support of his enemies, if Gustavus Adolphus had not very opportunely opened that series of successes which gave the Germans more than enough occupation in their own territories.

But Richelieu aimed at diminishing the large powers still possessed by provincial governors in France, and concentrating them in the hands of the central government. The Domestic Governor of Languedoc allied himself with the conspirators against Richelieu's power, and revolted. The revolt was suppressed with no undue harshness, but the Governor was sent to the scaffold. The cardinal's position was further strengthened when the birth of an heir, afterwards Louis XIV., destroyed the hopes of the king's brother, hitherto heir-presumptive and one of Richelieu's most persistent enemies.

Richelieu's domestic victories set him free to reap benefits for France out of the German war. His primary object was to cripple Spain, which, under a capable government, Foreign might recover its old power if it could establish the Policy. connection by land between Italy and the Spanish Netherlands. That connection would be practically secured if the Imperialists held possession of the Rhine valley, since Imperial territory was in effect at the service of Spain. By getting Alsace and Lorraine into his own hands, Richelieu was able completely to sever all land communication between Spain and the Spanish Netherlands. When Richelieu died in 1642 the Spanish hold on Italy was weakened; Portugal had broken away from her, Catalonia was in revolt, and she could not reach the Netherlands; while France had extended her own frontier in the Rhine provinces. Within France itself, he had succeeded in establishing a central despotism, beneficent in its aims, at the expense of the power of the nobles whose minor despotisms had not as a

rule been beneficent. The idea of 'government by the people,' which was at the root of the dispute which in England was just then culminating in the Civil War, had not presented itself to any of the rulers of Europe. Absolutism was the one alternative to feudal disunion and anarchy.

Richelieu died; Louis took for his minister Mazarin, who pursued the great cardinal's policy though by different methods.

8. France
under
Mazarin.

Louis died a few months later, and the regency was conferred on his widow Anne of Austria, who disappointed the expectations under which she had been chosen by retaining Mazarin. Five years later the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin bore its fruit for France in the treaty of Westphalia.

Before the peace was actually signed, there had broken out that travesty of a constitutional struggle known as the War of the Fronde; a contest in which there were no principles at stake except the desire of various nobles to get rid of all controlling authority, and of some few to capture the controlling authority for themselves; sign of other than personal motives there was none. Leaders who were on the same side one day were on opposite sides the next. After four years, during which the Spaniards had recovered some ground—for the Peace of Westphalia had not terminated the contest between France and Spain—Mazarin was reinstated in power. The government troops were placed under the command of the great general Turenne. Mazarin sought and obtained the support of the Lord Protector of England, whose fleets under Robert Blake smote those of Spain, while his Ironsides joined Turenne in the Netherlands. Dunkirk was captured, and the conquest of the whole country appeared to be merely a question of time.

The success of France was assured largely through the help she had received from Cromwell. Had Cromwell lived he

The Treaty
of the
Pyrenees,
1659.

would have seen to it that the policy of France should subserve his own or at least should not override it. But Cromwell died. England again fell into confusion, and Mazarin could turn everything that had been gained to the advantage of France. Spain

was isolated, and was ready enough to accept the terms offered by Mazarin, and ratified by the treaty of the Pyrenees. France gave back Lorraine to its duke ; she also resigned all pretensions in Italy. But she received from Spain some frontier territory in the Netherlands with a number of fortresses, and the confirmation of her right to Alsace. At the same time the young King of France, Louis xiv., married the elder of the Spanish princesses, and was thus able forty years afterwards to claim the succession to the Spanish throne for his own grandson. Eighteen months later Mazarin was dead, and the young Louis took upon himself the task of governing France through ministers whose policy was dictated by himself ; not masters of the government but servants of the king.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK VI, 1470 TO 1660

GUIDING DATES

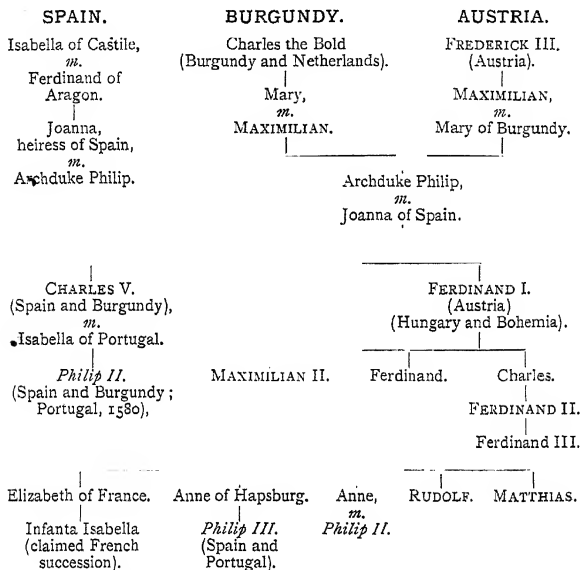
Death of Charles the Bold. 1477	Union of Utrecht . . . 1579
Union of Spanish Crowns . 1479	Death of Mary Stuart . 1587
Tudor Dynasty . . . 1485	Spanish Armada. . . 1588
Conquest of Granada . . 1492	Accession of Henry IV.
Discovery of America. . 1492	France . . . 1589
Charles VII. invades Italy . 1495	Edict of Nantes . . . 1589
Da Gama sails to India . 1498	Crowns of England and
Accession of Charles V. . 1519	Scotland united . . 1603
Conquest of Mexico . . 1519	Colony of Virginia . . 1606
Diet of Worms . . . 1521	Dutch Republic established 1609
Peasants' War . . . 1524	Thirty Years' War begins . 1618
Babar 1525	Richelieu's Ascendency be-
Protest of Speier . . . 1529	gins 1624
Conquest of Peru . . . 1532	Rise of Wallenstein . . 1626
Calvin in Geneva . . . 1536	Gustavus Adolphus
Order of Jesuits . . . 1540	Germany 1630
Schmalkaldic War . . . 1547	Accession of the Great
Peace of Augsburg . . . 1555	Elector in Brandenburg . 1640
Akbar 1556	English Civil War begins . 1642
Accession of Philip II. . 1556	Mazarin succeeds Richelieu 1642
Huguenot Wars begin . 1562	Accession of Louis XIV. . 1643
Close of Council of Trent . 1563	Treaty of Westphalia . . 1648
Alva in the Netherlands . 1568	Commonwealth in England 1649
Revolt of the Netherlands . 1572	Treaty of the Pyrenees . 1659
St. Bartholomew. . . . 1572	Restoration in England . 1660

LEADING NAMES

Ferdinand of Aragon—Isabella of Castile—Maximilian of Austria—Savonarola—Erasmus—Luther—Zwingli—Calvin—Leo X.—Clement VII.—Christopher Columbus—Vasco da Gama—Cortes—Pizarro—Drake—Charles V.—Francis I.—Henry VIII.—Philip II.—Elizabeth—Catherine de Medici—Henry IV.—William of Orange—Suleiman the Magnificent—Frederick, Elector Palatine—James I.—Ferdinand II.—Wallenstein—Gustavus Adolphus—Richelieu—Mazarin—Cromwell—Babar¹—Akbar.¹

¹ See Chapter XXIII.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE
SHOWING THE ACCUMULATION OF DOMINIONS
IN THE HANDS OF THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG.



Kings of Spain printed in italics.

Emperors printed in capitals.

India. The powerful dynasty of the 'Moguls' was established in the north of India by Babar, a bold invader from Afghanistan, between 1525 and 1529. The Mogul dominion, however, was not secured until his grandson Akbar was placed on the throne in 1556. No serious attempt to conquer the south of India was made till a hundred years later, but this century during which Akbar and his two sons reigned is the time of India's greatest magnificence and prosperity. Till the seventeenth century the Portuguese were still the only Europeans who established themselves in the east; but they did not try to seize territory, being satisfied to exercise supreme control over the seas. In the first half of the seventeenth century

the English were permitted to make a small number of settlements on the coast, exclusively for trading purposes.

Intellectual Progress. The great intellectual movement called the Renaissance began in Italy before the thirteenth century was ended, but the rest of Europe was only affected by it by slow degrees. But at the close of the fifteenth century it became vigorous everywhere, culminating in England a hundred years later with the group of great writers who are called collectively 'Elizabethans,' though much of their work belongs to the reign of James I. It was during the same period that the great advance of science began; astronomy was revolutionised by the Dane Copernicus, and the principles of scientific inquiry were formulated by the Englishman Francis Bacon.

The Reformation. Certain aspects of the Reformation require to be kept carefully distinguished. (1) It was a part of the general revolt against intellectual submission to the dogmatic pronouncements of authority. (2) It was a revolt against specific doctrines which interpose a priesthood as necessary intermediaries between the individual man and his Maker. (3) It was a revolt against the practice of attributing more value to the observance of ceremonial than to obedience to the moral law. (4) But all the reformed churches tended to substitute new authority, new intermediaries, and new observances, for the old. They continued to be intolerant, and to persecute. Acceptance of the principle of toleration was of much later date. (5) It was the logical conclusion of the contest for supreme authority between Church and state. In this aspect, as a matter of fact, the Church found itself compelled to accept subordination even in the states which remained 'orthodox.' (6) It appealed to and was fostered by governments, as providing them with an excuse for seizing ecclesiastical property. (7) The clergy were frequently led to support it, by the desire to free themselves from subjection to an Italian bishop; though many of them returned to the papal allegiance (like Gardiner and Bonner in England) when they found that the alternative was subjection to a lay authority.

BOOK VII ·
THE BOURBON AGE

CHAPTER XXI

LOUIS XIV

THE aggressive policy which is the most marked feature of the long reign of Louis XIV. did not at once develop itself. The young king had great ambitions; he intended to 1. Louis XIV. make himself a good deal more than the arbiter of

Europe. But his first business was not active aggression. Mazarin left behind him a group of exceedingly efficient ministers, but none who had been marked out to take his place; it was, however, by Mazarin's own advice that the dangerous Fouquet was removed from the ministry of finance and was replaced by Colbert. For some time Colbert was the moving spirit; he reorganised the finances, and nursed a number of industries into active life by a vigorous protective policy. That is to say the state paid for the creation of industries. Colbert.

In the course of time that came to mean that, foreign competition being completely barred, the French producers lost all incentive to cheapen production, and the public suffered accordingly. But at the outset a start was given to industries which could not have entered the arena of competition unaided, but, once established, would have been able to hold their own.

For the time being the protective policy was accompanied by a great increase of prosperity. It was accompanied also by an energetic development of commerce. England and Holland had set the example of encouraging great commercial companies to which extensive privileges were conceded by the government. The example was now followed in France, where an East India Company, a West India Company, and an African Company were formed. But

Commerce
and
Colonisation.

whereas England went on the principle of conceding privileges in return for cash, and leaving the development of commerce to the enterprise of the Companies, France went to the opposite extreme of making the state a controlling partner; and the event demonstrated the superiority of the English methods. Further, the development of a great over-seas commerce carried with it the necessity for a fighting navy; and under Colbert's régime a navy was created, which for a short time was actually able to rate itself as on an equality with the navy of Holland or England.

Beside Colbert's activity in these directions, more system was brought into the organisation of the army, and special attention was given to what are called the scientific branches, artillery and engineering, with notable results.

When Cromwell was ruling in England and Mazarin in France, the Lord Protector had made up his mind that the cause of
 2. The Protestantism would be furthered by his alliance
 English with France against Spain, since France accepted
 Restoration. the theory of toleration, and Spain did not. To all appearance Charles II. was continuing the Protector's policy, by preserving friendly relations with his French cousin. But Charles was actuated by wholly different motives, while the French king's ambitions were taking a direction which would very soon have brought him into collision with Cromwell.

Louis had married the Spanish Infanta with an eye to the Spanish succession. The French law of male succession did not
 3. Louis XIV. apply in Spain, and between the bride of Louis and
 aggressive. the Spanish throne there stood only a sickly youth. It was true that she had renounced all her claims in consideration of a substantial dowry; still, until that dowry was paid, the renunciation might be repudiated. But apart from the
 The Nether- possibility of putting forward a claim to the Spanish
 lands. throne, Louis had discovered a technical plea on which he intended to claim on behalf of his wife sundry provinces of the Spanish Netherlands; on the ground that, according to the law in those provinces, the daughter of a first wife, as she was, succeeded in priority to the son of a second, as was her brother Charles, the heir to the Spanish throne. In short Louis intended to have the Netherlands for himself, while holding in reserve a

claim to the Spanish throne on behalf of his wife. He meant not the Upper Rhine, but the whole Rhine, to be the boundary of the French kingdom.

This aggressive policy first manifested itself when Philip iv. of Spain died, and the Spanish regency, on the accession of the boy Charles II. in Spain, refused to recognise Louis's theory, that his wife was the heiress of the Netherland provinces. Louis proceeded to invade the Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comté, took complete possession of the latter, and captured most of the fortresses in the former. His alarm-ingly rapid progress brought about the Triple Alliance between England, Sweden and Holland; but Louis secured his immediate object by a private agreement with the Emperor Leopold, who had married the younger sister of the French king's Spanish wife. When Charles should die, an event which every one looked for at an early date, the younger sister was to have Spain, and the elder sister was to have the rest. So Louis contented himself with a peace which left him in possession of the captured Netherlands' fortresses.

But Louis had other designs. He intended to be at once the champion and dictator of Catholicism. He intended to restore Catholicism in England, and to destroy the Calvinistic Dutch Republic; and he also intended France to become entirely Catholic. The King of England was quite willing to fall in with his plans, provided that he could dupe the English people. He did not dare to defy the parliament which was learning to keep a jealous eye on expenditure. He wanted cash for his own purposes, and had no qualms about selling himself and his country for the French king's gold. An anti-Dutch programme seemed practicable because of the jealousy subsisting between England and Holland, which had twice fought each other during the last twenty years. Besides, the overthrow of the Republic was to provide his young nephew, William of Orange, with a throne, though he was to occupy it by the grace of England and France.

So Louis made his private bargain with Charles Stuart, whose ministers were quite ready to desert Holland, while they were kept in ignorance of the other details. Sweden also was detached

The Triple
Alliance.

Louis,
Charles, and
the Dutch
Republic.

from the Triple Alliance, and the only one of the German princes who threatened to support Holland, was Frederick Holland William of Brandenburg, known as the Great isolated. Elector. The one thing on which nobody had calculated was the character of young William of Orange, who had every intention of recovering the power of his house in Holland, but was no less determined to fight for Dutch independence to the last gasp.

In 1672 Louis opened the attack. The Dutch navy was powerful, and proved itself a match for the combined fleets of France and England, which suffered from the inability to co-operate, by which allied navies seem to be still more seriously afflicted than allied armies. But the Dutch armies were in a deplorable condition. The partisans of the house of Orange forced the Dutch government to place William in command, but he was almost helpless, and could offer no effective resistance when the French troops entered the United Provinces. The Dutch rose in fury against the government, murdered the two De Witts, and made William stadtholder. William justified their faith in his courage and patriotism. By his order the dykes were opened, and the French troops were literally flooded out of the country.

The French successes had already created so much alarm that the emperor took up arms in support of the Dutch. Louis had to fall back on the defensive. Still the brilliant military genius of Turenne enabled the French to check the German forces at every point. The details of the campaigns during the next three years, especially of those conducted by Turenne, are of great military interest, but cannot be dealt with here. In 1675, however, Turenne himself was killed by a stray bullet, when two other brilliant commanders, the Imperialist Montecuculi and the French Condé, retired. Still, as the war continued, the successes lay rather with the French than with the allies; and the progress of the French navy was signally demonstrated when Duquesne, the French admiral, proved himself a match for the Dutch De Ruyter in the Mediterranean. But in effect France had been standing at bay against

a great coalition, and the brilliant achievements of her generals had not carried her far forward. In 1678, in spite of the opposition of William of Orange, the treaty of Nimeguen brought the war to an end for the time. Spain finally surrendered Franche Comté, but otherwise the possessions of the belligerents were restored practically as they had been when the war began; and France still held the fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands.

For ten years after the Peace of Nimeguen there was comparative peace. Circumstances favoured Louis in making his own use of the treaties without actually inviting the armed attack of a European combination. The territories which had been ceded to France in the Rhine district were conveyed under terms which left many open questions. Louis appointed his own courts to interpret the rights of the French Crown under the treaties. As a matter of course the interpretation was in all points favourable to the maximum possible French claim. When Spain declined a complete surrender to Louis's curious principle of arbitration, Louis opened an attack on the towns which were in dispute. Spain could get no help, because the emperor was occupied with a Turkish war. Brandenburg was sulky over the manner in which its interests had been neglected by the allies, and in Holland the old republican peace-party was temporarily in the ascendent. So Louis got his own way in what is called the 'Affair of the Reunions.'

Louis, however, soon forced Europe to combine against him again. Down to 1683 Colbert was able to exercise some influence in checking his master's aggressiveness, which was fostered by the war minister Louvois. But in that year Colbert died; there was no check on Louvois, while the king fell to a great extent under the influence of Madame de Maintenon to whom he was secretly married. She was a religious zealot, and urged Louis forward to a disastrous attack on the Huguenots. At the same time Louis, like Henry VIII. in England in the past, while parading his championship of orthodoxy was determined himself to be the head of the Church as well as of the state. His arrogant treatment of the pope

alienated the papacy to which his claims appeared more dangerous than Protestantism, while he was energetically supported by the Jesuit organisation.

It was under these conditions that he changed his policy towards the Huguenots. Hitherto he had sought to procure religious uniformity by rewarding converts, among whom was numbered the great Turenne, rather than by severity. Now he took the violent step of revoking the Edict of Nantes, Henry iv.'s charter of Huguenot liberties, and a severe persecution followed. The result was an enormous immigration of Huguenots to England, Holland, and Brandenburg. These Huguenots were the cream of the industrial population. The great industrial advance which owed so much to Colbert was wrecked, while the emigrants greatly stimulated the trade of the countries where they found asylums. The liberal-minded Pope Innocent xi. entirely disapproved, while the measure had the effect of consolidating Protestant antagonism to Louis outside France. On the other hand the attitude of the pope prevented any prospect of a Catholic combination in support of Louis, apart from the fact that the Catholic powers were politically threatened by his aggression no less than the Protestants.

Just at this moment James ii. succeeded his brother Charles ii. on the English throne. He was a bigoted Catholic, and England had just been passing through a stage of particularly violent religious panic directed against everything which to English Protestantism savoured of popery. James's chance lay in associating himself with the pope and the principle of toleration. But he wanted French money and French support, and he alone of the Catholic princes associated himself with Louis and with schemes for a forcible restoration of Romanism. The result was that the English nation united in calling to the throne his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange, Scotland following suit.

Louis saw the European powers on the verge of an active combination against him, and resolved to strike first. But though he was alive to what was going on in England he made the amazing

**Revocation
of the Edict
of Nantes,
1585.**

**4. The
Revolution
in England,
1688.**

mistake of attacking not Holland, but the Palatinate. William was thus set free to make his expedition to England. James fled to France, where he was welcomed by Louis; but England was definitely and decisively added to the circle of the powers actively hostile to France. To

5. France
against
Europe.

Louis's blunder England owed the immediate and complete success of the Revolution of 1688. In 1689 all Europe was practically in arms against the French king. William, the most implacable of all Louis's foes, was in effective control of the forces both of England and Holland. The death of the Jacobite Dundee at Killiecrankie in 1689 secured the new monarchy in Scotland, while the battle of the Boyne next year destroyed the Stuart or Jacobite hopes of making Ireland the basis for a restoration.

Meanwhile the French, assailed on every side, held their own; and in 1690 the French fleet inflicted a severe defeat on the English off Beachy Head. But this was the high-water mark of the French naval success. Two years later the victor of Beachy Head, in obedience to the orders of the government, accepted an engagement with the English which resulted in a complete disaster. The battle of La Hogue decisively restored the Anglo-Dutch supremacy, and the French never again took the seas in force.

Hitherto the wars of Louis had conspicuously proved that Louvois as well as Colbert was a man of very great administrative powers, although the policy in which he had encouraged his master was evil. But in 1691 Louvois also died, and thenceforth Louis never employed a minister of conspicuous ability. Still, however, his generals were a match for those of the allies. It would be vain to attempt to follow the campaigns in which the more conspicuous victories continued to fall to the French, while the skill of William of Orange repeatedly prevented them from being followed by important results. France, fighting single-handed, felt the strain even more exhausting than the allies. Louis adopted the plan of negotiating with the powers separately. Having thus detached the Duke of Savoy, whose attitude was practically the determining factor on the side of Italy, he was able to extract from the rest more favourable

Character of
the War.

terms than he could otherwise have done; especially as the English were by no means zealous in the war, in which they felt that they were being used in Dutch interests rather than their own. They were satisfied with securing the recognition of the Protestant succession by Louis. Holland was satisfied with the occupation of barrier fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands which secured her frontiers against invasion. In Germany

**Treaty of
Ryswick,
1697.**

Louis had surrendered all his conquests since Nimeguen except Strasburg. The treaty of Ryswick practically involved something more than the surrender by Louis on all questions which had risen since Nimeguen.

But if Louis surrendered, it was not because he resigned his ambitions. The settlement of the Spanish succession was becoming critical. There was no direct heir to the reigning King Charles II. His sisters, when they married the King of France and the emperor, had resigned their claims. If these were set

**6. The
Spanish
Succession.**

aside the emperor himself had a claim through his mother, but the validity of both the renunciations was questionable. Possible claimants therefore were a son or grandson of the French king, the son of the Elector of Bavaria through his mother the emperor's daughter, and the emperor himself, whose claim would be transferred to one of his sons born of his second wife. The union of Spain and all its dependencies, either to France or to Austria, would entirely upset the balance of power. Legally the strongest claim was that of the Bavarian prince, which was also the most satisfactory to Europe at large. So after the peace of Ryswick, the powers agreed to a compromise which divided the Italian dominions between the Bourbons and the Archduke Charles, and gave all the rest to the Bavarian prince. The only power not consulted was Spain itself.

Three months after the first partition treaty the prince died. Thereupon the Elector of Bavaria claimed to take his son's place. That claim was rejected, and there was a fresh partition treaty which bestowed the main inheritance on the Archduke Charles, and presented Italy to France, which however was to hand over Milan to the Duke of Lorraine in exchange for his own duchy.

The archduke, it is to be noted, was a younger son, not the actual heir of the emperor.

The powers might make partition treaties, but Spain had its own views, and did not choose to be partitioned. King Charles declared that Philip of Anjou, a younger grandson of King Louis, was his heir; and having done so he died. Louis tore up the partition treaties by which he had bound himself, and accepted the whole Spanish inheritance for his grandson.

For the moment Austria could find no allies to support her in resisting the breach of faith. William was paralysed by the dominance of the peace-party both in England and in Holland; but Louis threw away his own advantages. First he declared that Philip did not forfeit any right which might eventually arise to the succession to the French Crown. Then he turned Holland against him by ejecting the Dutch troops from the barrier fortresses. Then the exiled King James II. died, and Louis acknowledged his son as King of England; and the English people promptly swung over and clamoured for war. William's apparent defeat was turned into a triumphant victory when the Grand Alliance was formed against Louis in 1701; and, though William himself died almost immediately afterwards, he left the carrying out of his policy to the Duke of Marlborough, a diplomatist no less skilful than himself, and a military genius far greater.

The Grand
Alliance,
1701.

At the outset of the war of the Spanish succession, France had two advantages that she had previously lacked. The French succession was popular in Spain, and the Duke of Savoy was her ally, as also was Bavaria. On the other hand the allies, though they suffered inevitably from divided counsels, had for leaders two greater commanders than any of the French, Marlborough and Prince Eugène. The Duke of Savoy did not long remain loyal to France, and Portugal joined the allies. The opening stage of the war gave the advantage on the whole to Eugène in Italy. In the Netherlands Marlborough was hampered by being subject to the control of the Dutch Estates, though as concerned the English government under Queen Anne he had almost a free hand owing to the influence held over the queen by his wife. Still, he was

7. War of
the Spanish
Succession,
1702-1713.

unable to adopt an audacious plan of campaign, and had to be satisfied with forcing the French back in the Netherlands by skilful manoeuvring.

In Germany, however, success attended the French arms, and preparations were made for a great blow to be struck in 1704.

The French in conjunction with the Bavarians were to march on Vienna, counting that by seizing the emperor's capital they would bring him to his knees and break up the coalition. But Eugène in Italy and Marlborough in the Netherlands concerted their own counter-plan for forming a junction and intercepting the French advance. Eugène withdrew his force from Italy to cover the capital. The Dutch would not allow Marlborough, who was Commander-in-chief of the allied forces, to leave the northern theatre of war; but he tricked them by a pretended campaign on the Moselle, from which he turned and suddenly dashed to the south-east to effect a junction with Eugène.

The junction was successfully accomplished, and the united armies of France and Bavaria were shattered at the decisive battle of Blenheim on the Danube. Half the French force was cut to pieces or compelled to surrender, Marlborough having pierced the centre and rolled up the right wing, while Eugène kept the left hotly engaged. The remnant succeeded in making good its retreat and falling back beyond the Rhine, and thenceforth Germany remained entirely in the hands of the allies.

Marlborough returned to the Netherlands, where his second great victory of Ramillies two years later was followed by the capture of the most important cities of the Spanish Netherlands. In the same year Eugène, who had been detained at Vienna by the death of the emperor and the accession of his son Joseph, returned to Italy, where the French had been making way under Vendôme. The tables there were completely turned; the French were practically driven out of the country, and the Archduke Charles was proclaimed king at Naples. Meanwhile English forces under Peterborough had entered Spain by way of Portugal, and an English squadron had surprised and

captured Gibraltar in 1704. There also it appeared for the moment that the victory of the allies was assured.

Next year, however, the campaign in Spain was in favour of the French; and Marlborough was kept inactive partly because his diplomatic abilities were required to prevent the intervention of the Swedish King Charles XII. on behalf of France. But again the French recovery was checked in 1708 by another decisive victory of Marlborough and Eugène at Oudenarde in Flanders, where the control by the allies was again secured.

The strain on the resources of France was becoming cruel, and the conflict was apparently all but hopeless. Louis sued for peace, and would probably have accepted the terms offered by the allies if they had not actually included the demand that he should assist by force of arms in ejecting his grandson from Spain. Louis, since he must fight, preferred fighting his enemies rather than his kinsmen; France answered heroically to his appeal, and the war went on.

Once more Marlborough won a victory at Malplaquet, but at such cost to his own troops that the moral effect in France was almost as encouraging as if he had been defeated. Again Louis proposed peace, and again the same impossible terms were offered. Both Marlborough and Eugène, the conquering generals, were bent on crushing France utterly; and the state of English politics made the duke feel that his own personal power depended on the continuation of the war. The French fought on stubbornly; the exorbitant demands of the chiefs of the allies were condemned by the general sentiment of Europe. In Spain the tide of success turned in favour of Philip. In England the Duchess of Marlborough lost her influence with the queen, and a revulsion of popular feeling against the existing Whig Government brought into office the Tory leaders, who promptly recalled Marlborough and attacked him with exaggerated charges of peculation and misconduct. The death of the Emperor Joseph gave the Austrian succession and the Imperial Crown to his brother, the Archduke Charles; so that, as far as the balance of power was concerned, his claim

to the Spanish throne was just as objectionable to Europe at large as that of Philip.

Practically it was the Tory Government in England which negotiated in 1713 the Peace of Utrecht. The Dutch and afterwards the emperor were compelled to accede to the arrangement. Philip got Spain and her American colonies, he and his heirs being barred from succession to the French throne; while the rest of the French royal family were similarly barred from the Spanish throne. Holland was secured by receiving the barrier fortresses. The Spanish Netherlands became the Austrian Netherlands, the Italian kingdoms and duchies went to Austria and Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy, while England kept Gibraltar and Minorca and received Nova Scotia. In 1715 Louis XIV. died, leaving as his heir a three-year-old grandson, and as regent his nephew, the Duke of Orleans.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EAST AND THE NORTH

DURING the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, the Ottoman power had ceased to be actively aggressive in Europe. This was partly owing to the vigour of the Persian Empire under the Safavid dynasty on its eastern border, but still more to sheer incapacity or misrule at Constantinople. This Safavid dynasty, we may note in passing, arose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and lasted till the middle of the eighteenth. The title of the 'Persian Sofy' is derived from it.

Towards the end of this period a maritime war broke out with Venice. But in 1656 court intrigues raised an Albanian, Mohammed Kiuprili, to the office of Grand Vizier or Chief Minister, and there ensued an era of renewed vigour. The Ottomans attacked Transylvania, a virtually independent principality comprising the eastern portion of Hungary, over which they claimed sovereignty. The Emperor Leopold supported Transylvania, and the Ottoman viziers turned hostile eyes on Vienna. In 1664 they were defeated at St. Gothard and made peace, withdrawing their troops from Transylvania, but still receiving tribute from it. They then turned to the completion of the war with Venice, which was compelled to surrender Crete in spite of the stubborn defence conducted by the heroic Morosini.

The next move was made upon the Ukraine, a district in the south of what is now Russia, occupied by the Cossacks. This had recently been partitioned between Russia and Poland against the will of the Cossacks, who appealed to the Turks.

In spite of the military successes of the Polish commander John Sobieski, who was afterwards raised to the Polish throne, the Turks obtained possession of the province of Podolia for themselves.

But further opportunities of aggression were provided by Hungary. The Emperor Leopold ruled oppressively in that portion of Hungary which was still retained by Hungary.

Austria. Hungary revolted, with encouragement from France which was now at war with the emperor, as well as from Poland and Transylvania. The revolutionary leader allied himself with the Turks, and for the second time the Ottomans marched on Vienna. The treaty of Nimeguen had put an end for the time being to the war between Leopold and Louis, but the emperor was without trustworthy allies until he succeeded in winning the support of John Sobieski, who was now King of Poland. Vienna was besieged by a vast army, but Sobieski advanced to its relief and inflicted an overwhelming rout on the Turkish forces. This was followed up by a further attack, no less successful, on the Turks in Hungary. Venice joined with the empire, and the Turks met with a series of reverses while Hungary was sternly punished for its rebellion, and Transylvania was again brought under the Austrian sovereignty. In 1688 the Imperialists captured Belgrade. In spite of the renewed outbreak of war between France and the emperor, the Imperialists continued for a time to win victories. Then came a period of

Last years of Turkish aggression. Turkish successes while the best of the Austrian generals were engaged in fighting the French. At last, however, in 1697 Prince Eugène was set free to take command, and won a great victory at Zenta, while the Russian Tsar Peter the Great was attacking them on the north-east. The treaty of Carlowitz in 1699 brought the war to an end. Austria recovered practically all Hungary; Poland recovered Podolia, and Russia retained Azof on the Black Sea which she had seized. Turkey retained Belgrade which she had recaptured.

The war with Austria was not renewed till 1716, when Eugène's victory at Peterwardein deprived the Turks of their

last foothold in Hungary, and in the following year he crowned his triumphs at the battle of Belgrade. The treaty of Passarowitz closes the last period of Turkish aggression.

Meanwhile the states on the Baltic had been the scene of picturesque and sometimes important events. Gustavus Adolphus was succeeded on the Swedish throne by his daughter Christina, a remarkable lady, who governed with vigour for ten years after she came of age, and then at the age of twenty-eight abdicated in favour of her cousin Charles x. Charles was a brilliant soldier, moved by a spirit of conquest. He attacked and overran Poland, and was attacked in turn by Denmark, which he vanquished in an astonishing campaign. His death after a meteoric career in 1660 was followed by the treaty of Oliva.

But the man who had really profited by the Swedish king's operations was Frederick William, the 'Great Elector' of Brandenburg, who had given Charles support or opposition strictly with an eye to his own advantage. Attached to the Electorate of Brandenburg was the principality of Prussia beyond the Vistula, formally held by the Teutonic Knights, and still subject to the sovereignty of Poland. The elector seized his opportunity to procure from the King of Poland the release of Prussia from his sovereignty, and it thus became his own independent possession.

Sweden now passed under a regency which after joining the Triple Alliance with England and Holland against France in 1668 was bought over like the English king by Louis four years later. Frederick William stood by Holland, and the young Swedish King Charles xi., who now took up the government, found himself obliged by the French treaty to invade Brandenburg. In an extremely successful campaign the elector drove out the Swedes, but was deprived of his subsequent conquest of Pomerania by a treaty forced on him by France after the Peace of Nimeguen. Still the acquisition of Prussia as an independent possession prepared the way for the future power of Brandenburg, though for purposes of consolidation she still needed to acquire the territories between Brandenburg and Prussia. Charles xi. in Sweden devoted most of his reign

to consolidating the power of the Crown at the expense of the nobles, and to domestic reforms.

Sweden played and was still to play a dramatic part in European politics, though her resources would never have enabled her to secure a lasting position as a first-class power. But one first-class power was in the making in Brandenburg, and another in Russia. Hitherto Russia had stood outside the area of civilised Europe. Until the end of the fifteenth century she had been under the sway of the Mongols. She was cut off from maritime communication with the west, which by land she could only reach through Poland. When English sailors during the sixteenth century found their way from the White Sea to the Court of Ivan the Terrible, people in England talked of the 'discovery of Muscovy.' She had failed even to reach the Baltic, while the provinces on the seaboard were secured in spite of her efforts by Poland and Sweden. Russian civilisation was rudimentary. But in 1682 there succeeded to the Russian throne the boy Peter, who seven years later freed himself from all control, and set about the creation of the Russian empire.

Peter was a savage, but he was also a genius. He resolved to organise Russia into a state on the western model, and to turn a barbarian nation into a civilised power. Russia was ignorant of western methods, and Peter resolved to learn them in person. He came to Holland and to England to acquire a practical knowledge of ship-building as a workman in the Dutch and English yards. He returned home and made himself complete master of the government by the help of troops formed on western models under the command of Scottish adventurers of a type common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the poverty and the turmoils of their native land sent Scots abroad in large numbers to seek their fortunes, chiefly by the sword as mercenaries. By his Imperial will he abolished the customs of centuries, and forced his people to adopt those which prevailed among the civilised nations of the west. By the strong hand he imposed his own authority and supremacy on the Church, and made the Crown as completely

supreme in spiritual as in secular matters. But his grand object was to establish himself on the Baltic and to create a naval power, ends which could only be compassed at the expense of Sweden. He had got his starting-point for naval training when he secured Azof on the Black Sea from the Turks.

Sweden was in possession of nearly all the territories washed by the Baltic; but the populations, Swedish by conquest only, were hostile to the Swedish rule. Poland, Brandenburg, and Denmark were all hungering to recover what Sweden had robbed them of. In 1697 a boy of fifteen had just ascended the Swedish throne. Peter found his opportunity for an alliance with Poland for the partition of the Baltic provinces. They were joined by Frederick of Denmark, whose desire to annex Holstein was blocked by Sweden. In viewing this combination, however, we must note first the absence of Brandenburg, whose elector, Frederick, was a less enterprising person than his father Frederick William; and, secondly, that the people of Poland and the King of Poland were a long way from being in harmony. The great John Sobieski was dead, and the Poles had chosen for their king Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, who wished to make himself an absolute monarch—the main object of every prince at this time—whereas the Polish constitution designed that the king should be merely a figure-head.

In 1700 Denmark was on the point of opening the attack on Holstein. The Swedish council of regency was alarmed at the coalition, and would have conceded everything to everybody, if young Charles himself had not grasped the reins of government by a *coup-d'état*. Before three months had passed he had struck at Copenhagen, and compelled the King of Denmark to retire from the coalition. Riga, attacked by Augustus of Poland, successfully defied the assailant, and Charles with supreme audacity flung himself with a small body of troops on the Russian hosts which had collected at Narva on the Gulf of Finland. The Russians, as yet wholly inexperienced and undisciplined, were scattered; and Charles proceeded to sweep the King of Poland's Saxon troops out of Livonia. Then he made the mistake of disregarding Russia and attacking Poland, demanding the deposition of King

Augustus. The Poles were willing enough to depose Augustus, who had no one to fall back on except Russia, the rest of the world having for the most part enough on its hands with the war of the Spanish succession. But when Charles insisted on the election of the Polish noble Stanislaus Lecziński, he threw a great many of the other nobles into the arms of the deposed ruler. But wherever Charles appeared he was irresistible.

His next move was to occupy Saxony itself. Augustus was obliged to resign the Crown of Poland to Lecziński, though he retained the title, and to give up the Russian alliance. It was at this time that the operations of the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV. were perturbed by the fear that Sweden might join with France.

Meanwhile, however, Peter of Russia had been reorganising and drilling his army, and in his turn was overrunning those Baltic provinces which had been destined for Charles invades Poland. The amazing successes of Charles had Russia. been accomplished with very few troops, and he was never able to leave a substantial force to hold the territories which he conquered with ease. Now, like Napoleon a hundred years afterwards, he thought he could bring Russia to her knees by marching on Moscow. Peter avoided battle with the great captain, but fell with his whole army on the reinforcements which were following, of which only a remnant cut its way through and joined Charles. Finally, while Charles was besieging Pultawa, Peter arrived with an overwhelming force and annihilated the Swedish army. Charles, who was suffering from a wounded foot, was with difficulty extracted by some of his gallant followers, and carried to safety across the Turkish border, where he remained for a long time engaged in attempts to persuade the Sultan to turn his arms against Peter.

It was not till 1710 that he achieved this object, and in the meanwhile Peter had completely secured himself in possession of the provinces on the eastern shores of the Baltic. When at last the Turks were induced to declare war on Russia, Peter advanced against them, but found himself trapped and at the mercy of his enemies

Peter and
the Turks,
1710.

on the River Pruth. Instead of annihilating him, however, the vizier was content with a treaty which deprived Russia of Azof.

Charles was only induced to leave Turkey, where he was becoming an extremely unwelcome guest, by the news that his territories on the German Baltic coast were on the verge of being lost. Even his return could not save them.

It is curious at this point to find Charles and Peter contemplating an alliance under which Peter was to be secured in all that he had gained, and was to help Charles in **The End of Charles XII.** the recovery of the German provinces. But the schemes of Charles were brought to a sudden end by his death before Friederichshalle in Norway, which he had invaded. Its annexation to Sweden was part **1718.** of the scheme in which Peter and certain other powers were proposing to act in concert. A further effect of the king's death was a domestic revolution in Sweden which ended the system of absolutism that Charles XI. had instituted, and placed the effective control of the government in the hands of a narrow oligarchy.

The remaining years of Peter's life were spent mainly in working out the organisation of the empire he had created, and in making the new city of St. Petersburg which he had founded on the Neva a capital, representative of new Russia as Moscow stood for the **The End of Peter the Great.** Russia of tradition. In spite of the attempts which were made during the three years following his death to curtail the royal power, it was completely re- **1725.** established on the accession of his niece the Tsarina Anne.

English history so far as it was directly connected with continental affairs has been included in the narrative of the last chapter. Our domestic history however has **3. England and Scotland.** its bearings on history at large, and requires to be sketched here along with that of the other northern powers.

The Restoration of 1660 placed Charles II. on the throne, just at the time when his cousin Louis was on the point of assuming active control in France. He returned **The Restoration.** to England on terms which secured to parliament a command of the purse so complete as to ensure to it ultimate

control of the government. The king set himself to obtain from his cousin of France supplies which would render him independent of parliament, but until this could be accomplished he could only carry out plans of his own by cajoling or hoodwinking parliament into supporting them. Whenever parliament made up its mind to a particular course, he submitted gracefully. But in the long-run he got his money out of the French king, though he declined to run risks in carrying out his own side of the bargain with Louis. During the last years of his life he was able to dispense with parliament, and to secure the succession of his brother James.

Charles always stopped short of personally outraging public feeling, when he overrode the law or wrested it to suit his own purposes. James seemed to miss no opportunity of arousing every kind of antagonism to himself. He forced into opposition those very elements in the country which were naturally most loyal to the Crown. The division of parliament into two great parties, named Whigs and Tories, had taken shape in the reign of Charles II. But the Tories and Churchmen who had supported the accession of James joined with the Whigs and the Nonconformists who had endeavoured to prevent it, in calling William of Orange to the throne in his place.

William retained for the Crown during his life-time the real sovereignty, because, in spite of his unpopularity, he was indispensable to the nation, and in the last resort could threaten to resign the Crown and go back to Holland; but if parliament had been prepared to face that alternative, it held in its hands the power to compel the Crown to obey its wishes, and generally speaking William had no desire to override its wishes so long as he managed foreign policy.

When William died parliament had still not fully realised its own strength, and the system of party government—that is, of ministers chosen from the party in a majority in the House of Commons—was not fully established. Even while Anne reigned, it was by the personal power of the queen that Marlborough first ruled the country and was then

overthrown. But parliament had secured the succession of the house of Hanover after her death; and when King George ascended the throne in 1714, the supremacy of parliament and party government was immediately established.

One other event of vital importance took place during Anne's reign. This was the incorporation by treaty of England and Scotland as a single kingdom with one legislature **The Union,** and one crown; for hitherto there had been nothing **1707.** to prevent either kingdom from changing the line of succession to its own throne. Also the incorporation, by removing commercial distinctions between the two countries, hitherto a grave impediment to Scottish industries and commerce, sowed the seed of Scotland's financial prosperity in the future, though nearly half a century elapsed before the result was fully realised. Henceforth, instead of the kingdoms of England and Scotland there is a single power, that of Great Britain.

The accession of the house of Hanover definitely established the principle that there is no unalterable law of succession in England. Its course was fixed by an act of parliament sanctioned by the Crown which precluded any Roman Catholic from sitting on the throne. This **The Hanoverian Succession.** settled the succession on Sophia, the grand-daughter of James I. and daughter of the Elector Palatine, whose Catholic descendants were barred equally with the exiled Stuarts. Her husband, the Duke of Hanover, had been made a ninth Elector of the empire; whence she is known as the Electress Sophia. Hence it was actually her son George, the Elector of Hanover, who succeeded to the English throne on the death of Queen Anne.

For a little more than thirty years longer the claims of the exiled Stuarts of the English throne served not only to complicate English politics, but also as a not very powerful weapon in the hands of her enemies abroad. **Jacobitism.**

Ministers in England could never feel quite free from the fear of a possible restoration; while on the other hand the Hanoverian kings knew that they were in England only on sufferance, and could never set themselves in opposition to the will of parliament. By this means that constitutional government

was established which excited such enthusiastic admiration in the minds of political philosophers during the eighteenth century, when Great Britain possessed the only strong government in Europe which did not rest upon the absolute power of the Crown.

CHAPTER XXIII

INDIA

HITHERTO we have only on rare occasions made reference to India and the far east, since those regions have hardly come into touch with the story of the western nations. Now, however, we are approaching a point where influence and dominion in India become a prominent source of rivalry between European states, and we must trace the past history of the great peninsula.

• In one of the earliest chapters we recorded the great Aryan immigration, which in course of time dominated all but the most inaccessible regions between the sea and the 1. 2000 B.C. mountains which cut India off from the rest of the to 1000 A.D. world. The Aryan invaders, disciplined and organised hosts, regarded their predecessors in the land with contempt, as an altogether inferior race, whom they forced into The Aryan servitude. They themselves were the 'twice- Conquest. born,' the rest were the 'once-born,' a caste apart, degraded and degrading. At a very early stage the twice-born themselves were divided into three castes: the Brahmans, the priesthood who held the keys of religious knowledge and culture in general; the Kshatriyas, the warriors and men of action whose war-leaders were the princes; the Vaisyas or industrial class, inferior to the other two, yet having a great gulf fixed between them and the Sudras, the lower conquered race.

At first the division was not altogether rigid. The older barbarians were occasionally strong enough to win temporary recognition, even to the extent of matrimonial Strife of alliances. The blood of the twice-born was not Castes. kept altogether pure; in fact, it is probable that the 'religious

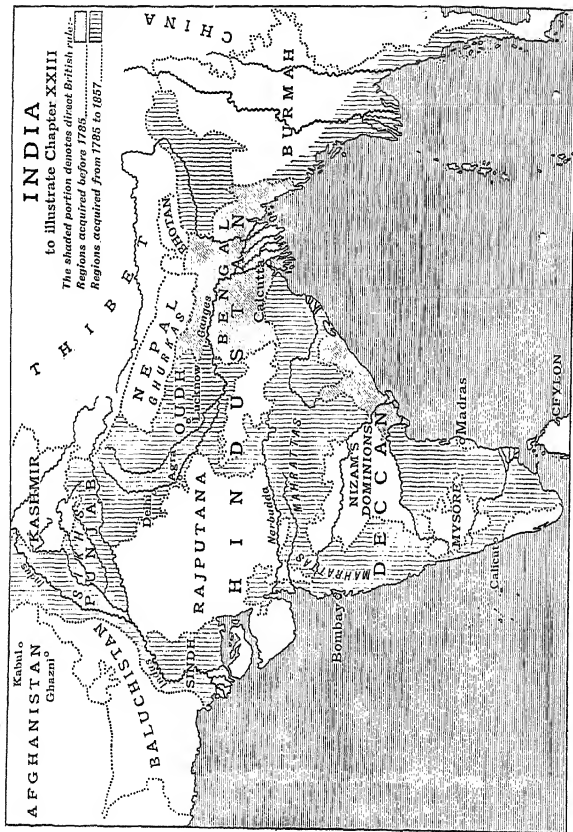
INDIA
to illustrate Chapter XXIII

to illustrate Chapter XXIII

The shaded portion denotes direct British rule:-

Regions acquired before 1785...

Regions acquired from 1785 to 1857.



sanction' of the division, the doctrine of the twice-born and the once-born, was developed after the first immigration. The hymns and epic poems from which we derive our earliest knowledge say nothing of caste. But the next group of poems, the *Mahabharata*, are clearly the outcome of a period when the military and the learned castes had not only taken shape, but were carrying on a long and severe struggle for supremacy, in which the priestly caste was successful. It was somewhat as though the papacy in mediaeval Europe had achieved the highest dreams of Innocent III. or Boniface VIII., and compelled secular kings and nobles to submit to it. Later still—perhaps about 1000 B.C.—the fully developed system is expressed in the code of Manu.

The four castes now were rigidly defined and kept apart; the distinction of classes was not merely a social one which could be overcome; it was fundamental, the breaches of it carrying severe religious penalties. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Brahmans were the sons of Brahmans; the caste was not artificially produced like the celibate ecclesiastical orders of the Christian Church; it was hereditary, like the others. The fact remains that there were long periods when the strictness of the law was relaxed, so that in later ages the purity of Kshatrya (otherwise called Rajput) blood became questionable among most of the self-styled Rajputs, and this was still more the case with the Vaisya. Moreover, all the four castes became subdivided into innumerable hereditary castes divided for matrimonial and other purposes by almost impenetrable barriers.

The caste system, however, as Europeans have known it in India, was a much later development. The old Brahmanism was shaken to its foundations by the rise and expansion of Buddhism about the sixth century B.C.; while the lower classes, forbidden to search into the mysteries of religious knowledge, naturally sought satisfaction in absorbing the superstitions of the conquered peoples. In time Buddhism expanded beyond the borders of India, and spread all over the far east till its votaries became perhaps more numerous than those of any other cult in the world. But within India the

**The Ancient
Caste
System.**

**Buddhism,
600 B.C.**

old religion reasserted itself, taking shape in the Hinduism which is still dominant; to the multitude, a materialistic polytheism worshipping countless grotesque deities; to the few, a subtle and absorbing philosophy; to all, a faith having not a few precepts or ordinances which can be broken only at infinite risk to body and soul.

We cannot attempt any examination or summary of the Buddhism by which Brahmanism was temporarily eclipsed. But for a time it destroyed the predominance of 500 B.C. to 300 B.C. the caste system, and there arose kingdoms and empires under princes who were neither Brahmans nor Rajputs. About the time when Buddhism was born, the north-west of India came in contact with the newly risen power beyond the mountains; Cyrus possibly, Darius certainly, sent expeditions which penetrated into the Punjab, and claimed sovereignty—in other words, tribute. Herodotus describes an 'Indian' contingent—not at all recognisable—as present with the great army of Xerxes when he invaded Hellas. Alexander the Great broke through the barrier, and met with a stubborn resistance in the land of the Five Rivers, but his troops would follow him no further. The Greeks did not at once evacuate the country completely, but never exercised more than a nominal sway. Not long after we have authentic knowledge of the great kingdom of Magadha, the prototype of the empires which had their seat at the city of Delhi on the Jumna, the most westerly of the Ganges river-group.

In Magadha reigned the great prince Chandragupta, with whom Seleucus found it better to establish friendly relations than to wage war. Practically, he was monarch or Asoka, 250 B.C. emperor of all Hindustan (the northern half of India); and of all ancient rulers in India the greatest was his grandson Asoka, who ruled between 270 and 230 B.C. He was a prince of the type of Alfred the Great or St. Louis, who won the reverence and even the submission of his neighbours by the pure nobility of his character no less than by his wisdom.

A Scythian invasion and occupation of the Punjab in the first century B.C. is held to have left distinct traces among the peoples of that region. But Indian history relapses into a general vagueness. A great Maghada kingdom is again distinguishable after

the third century A.D.; and then about the sixth century, a great Hindu kingdom in the Deccan, the plateau of Southern India; a kingdom which later split in two. The thousand years between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D., and the ensuing period in the south, are probably the era during which fusion between the Aryans and their predecessors was carried furthest. The completeness of the early conquest in the Indus and Ganges basins had already reduced the previous population to such a condition of serfdom that there was less tendency to amalgamation in that area, and it remained essentially the land of the Hindus, Hindustan, where Brahmans and Rajputs still maintain a claim to unsullied descent.

Some considerable time before 1000 A.D. Buddhism was already disappearing before the later Hinduism, the corrupt offspring of the ancient Brahmanism with its ugly admixture of demon worship and other superstitions borrowed from the old Dravidian populations; the more readily, because Buddhism itself was suffering from corruptions. We have already seen how Islam made conquest of all Western Asia as well as of North Africa, and even of Spain, in the seventh and eighth centuries; but though the Arabs did occasionally penetrate India's mountain barrier, there was no effective invasion till Mahmud of Ghazni's first great incursion in 1001 A.D., when that great captain found himself opposed by Rajput armies as passionately attached to their own Hindu creed as were his followers to Islam.

Year after year Mahmud hurled his armies into the Punjab, ravaging and spoiling as far south as Somnath in Gujerat, but otherwise confining his operations to the lands watered by the Indus and its tributaries. He did not organise his conquest, beyond leaving garrisons under military governors; the Indian territory was only an outlying province of his empire. But when his successors lost their dominions, they still for a time retained possession of the Punjab, in which there was now a military Mohammedan population of mixed Turks and Afghans, lording it over the Hindus whom they held in subjection. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Ghazni dynasty was finally overthrown by another Afghan dynasty, that of Ghor.

A Thousand
Years.

Hinduism
established.

2. The
Mohammedan
Ascendency.

The Ghori monarch extended the Mohammedan sway over all Hindustan, not without long and fierce struggles with the Rajput princes. But there was no single Hindu empire to face their attack, no united resistance. **The Ghori Dynasty.** Kutb ed-din, the great captain of the Ghori monarch Moizz ed-din, carried the conquering arms of Islam as far as Benares on the Ganges, and the borders of Bengal. Kutb ed-din himself was a Turk, originally a slave of Moizz ed-din, who had risen to his high position in virtue of his talents. It is not unusual in the east to find slaves thus elevated to offices of trust; for any member of the reigning family, or any great noble in such a position, was exceedingly apt to utilise it in order to seize the throne for himself. A slave, whose power was derived entirely from royal favour, was far less dangerous; yet not a few slaves were able in this way to snatch a crown when the ruler's death left rivals striving for the succession.

Such an opportunity occurred soon after the death of Moizz ed-din. Kutb ed-din seized the throne and ruled vigorously for a short time. Throughout the thirteenth century **The Slave Dynasty.** the 'Slave' dynasty held sway, with its seat of government at Delhi; strictly, it was not a dynasty, since more than once another slave-captain ejected the heir of his predecessor. One of the most vigorous was Altamsh, whose judicious attitude towards Genghis Khan, the great Mongol conqueror, saved India from being devastated by the hordes which defiance would have brought down on Hindustan. Altamsh, when the Mongol had turned his attention to other regions, subdued all resistance and made himself master of all Northern India. Both Altamsh and Balban—another slave who had been Grand Vizier or first minister and then secured the Crown—were able rulers, whose courts won a high reputation for their intellectual character; as had been notably the case with Mahmud of Ghazni.

It was not a slave but a Turk noble—that is, a noble of Turkish descent—who secured the Crown of Delhi soon after the death of Balban. **The Khilji Dynasty.** The first ruler of the new Khilji dynasty, Feroz Shah, routed an invasion of the Mongols whose power had now broken up, but was soon after-

wards murdered. The Crown was seized by his nephew Ala ed-din, who took the name Mohammed Shah. He was the first who extended the Mohammedan empire of Delhi over a substantial portion of the Deccan and ultimately over the whole peninsula. It must be remembered that the Mohammedan Turks and Afghans were a military ruling race, who held sway over the Hindus as subjects without intermixture, in virtue of their military organisation. To the Hindu they were out-caste, once-born like any Sudra; while to them the Hindus were heathen idolaters. Direct persecution, however, was not habitual, and a gradual fusion of manners and customs was in progress. 1296.

Once more a new dynasty arose after Mohammed's death, beginning with another Turk slave. The Tughlak emperors ruled for nearly a century. The second of the line was Mohammed Tughlak, half genius and half madman. One of his crazy schemes was an invasion of China across the Himalayas by a great army which perished in the mountain passes as utterly as the Grand Army of Napoleon's Moscow expedition. But the empire fell to pieces after the reign of his wise successor, Feroz Shah, who could not stop the disintegration, which was completed by the invasion of Tamerlane. On this occasion Delhi was sacked, and the inhabitants massacred. The Lodi dynasty, which succeeded the Tughlak, scarcely held dominion outside the Delhi district; though in the second half of the fifteenth century Bahlul Lodi and his son again more or less subjugated Northern Hindustan. **The Later Kingdoms, 1321-1525.** 1398.

Meantime in the Deccan the governors, who for a time continued to profess allegiance to the Lodi emperors, declared their independence; about 1480 the Bahmani dynasty, resting on the support of the Turk and Afghan soldiery, ruled over nearly all the Deccan. Then this great empire in its turn broke up into the several kingdoms of Bijanagar, Bijapur, Ahmednagar, and Golconda. Of these the first is distinguished as being Hindu, not Mohammedan, and also as proving itself at once the strongest and intellectually the foremost. All of these survived until the latter end of the seventeenth century. **The Deccan Kingdoms.**

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese had just opened up the route round South Africa to the Indian Ocean, and at once established their supremacy or empire in the eastern seas. On the Persian Gulf, at Goa on the west coast of India, and elsewhere, they fixed their fortified ports, but they made no attempt to set up a dominion on the land. The beginnings of European conquest were still two and a half centuries away in the future. But the sixteenth century witnessed another conquest of great importance. The most picturesque of

3. The
Moguls:
Babar.

great adventurers, Babar the Turk, a descendant of Tamerlane, founded the Mongol or Mughal dynasty, best known in its Anglicised form as that of the Moguls, his mother coming from that division of the Mongolian races to which the name Mongol is specially appropriated. Expelled while a boy from his own dominions in the regions east of the Caspian sea, he found his way to Afghanistan, where he made himself king at Kabul; and set out to conquer India with a force of five and twenty thousand men, who were ready to follow their hero through fire and water. At Panipat, near Delhi—having overrun the Punjab—he smote the great army of the last of the Lodi kings of Delhi. He smote also the Hindu princes of Rajputana in a series of campaigns abounding in picturesque episodes, and swept down the plain of the Ganges, routing great hosts with, comparatively speaking, a handful of men. Five years after his first invasion he died, leaving the empire of all Hindustan to his son Humayun.

Both Mohammedans and Hindus were eager to drive out the new conquerors. Led by a Mohammedan chief, who afterwards assumed the title of Sher Shah, they expelled Humayun and his Afghans in 1540, and Sher Shah ruled with power and ability over Hindustan. But he failed to establish a strong dynasty. Sher Shah died; Humayun returned from Afghanistan and recaptured Delhi. Then he too died. But his Turk vizier Bairam completed the Mogul restoration by another victory at Panipat, won in the name of Humayun's son Akbar. For four years he ruled for the boy who had been left to his loyal guardianship; then Akbar suddenly,

1556.

though still a boy, seized the reins of government for himself. His rule, which ended with his death in 1605, was almost exactly contemporary with that of Queen Elizabeth.

A soldier and statesman, a lover of learning and philosophy, daring to recklessness, boundlessly generous, a ruler who enjoyed his own life to the uttermost, yet made the welfare of his countless subjects his supreme aim, Akbar is

Akbar, 1556-1605.

one of the most splendid and attractive figures in history. An avowed but very unorthodox Mohammedan, he instituted the practice of making in effect no distinction in his treatment of Hindu and Moslem. No oriental monarch could abstain from conquest, and he extended his dominion from Kabul on the north-west to the mouth of the Ganges, and over most of Central India, yet not so much as to be beyond control. Order, justice, prosperity, and comparative peace marked his long reign.

There was a falling off in the reign of his son, Jehangir, in whose day the English East India Company, chartered in 1600, obtained from a native prince its first trading station at Surat on the west coast, and the first

English envoy visited the court of the Great Mogul, the most magnificent in the world. Corruption was then already setting in among the governing classes.

Shah
Jehan.

Jehangir's son Shah Jehan was a more worthy descendant of his grandfather, and in his time the splendour of the Moguls reached its highest point. He built one of the most beautiful buildings in the world, the Taj Mahal at Agra. The principle of toleration, of treating the whole empire as one, was on the whole maintained through these reigns.

But after Shah Jehan came Aurangzib, a sort of counterpart to Philip II. of Spain; a fanatical Moslem who oppressed the Hindus and revived the old antagonism of races and religions. Half his long reign, which ended in 1707, was spent

Aurangzib.

on a very incomplete subjugation of the Deccan, where all the kingdoms which had flourished for the last two centuries were overthrown. But the seeds of disintegration were sown. Sivaji, a Hindu adventurer of extraordinary ability, united the Maratha peoples occupying the hill-country of the western Deccan, and made them into a tremendous power, though

nominally recognising the sovereignty of the Mogul. Afghanistan had been lost, to Persia, in the reign of Shah Jehan. On Aurangzib's death the empire practically fell to pieces. Under the later Imperial system, it was divided into huge provinces, whose governors or viceroys made themselves virtually independent, the sovereignty of the Moguls who followed each other

Break up of the Mogul Empire. in quick succession being more shadowy than that of the German emperor over the German princes.





One viceroy ruled nominally over the whole Deccan, though the Maratha confederacy did much as they chose on the west and all through Central India. Rajput princes held sway in Rajputana; the Ganges basin was divided between two Mohammedan viceroys, and anarchy prevailed in the Punjab, through which Nadir Shah from Persia swooped down on Delhi in 1739, dealing the last fatal blow to the Moguls, though they still remained sovereigns in the theory of Indian law.

Such was the state of India in 1740: when the English were in possession of three main trading stations, at Calcutta, at Madras, and at Bombay; and the French, who had entered on the commercial competition at the initiative of Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV., had their rival stations near Calcutta and Madras, at Chandernagore and Pondicherry. The moment of the struggle for European ascendancy was at hand.



EUROPE in 1789

to illustrate Chapters XXIV to XXVI

- Boundaries of the Empire and France 
- Prussian Dominions 
- Austrian Dominions 
- Sardinian Dominions 

M = MILAN, P = PARMA

CHAPTER XXIV

THE PRE-REVOLUTION ERA

AFTER the death of Louis XIV. European affairs assumed a new aspect. With a young child on the French throne and
1. The the nearest prince of the blood on the Spanish
Situation. throne, there was clearly danger of a disputed succession in spite of the most formal renunciations on the part of the Spanish king. Hence the regent, whose claims stood first under International treaties, had all his
1715. interest engaged in maintaining those treaties ; as had also the Hanoverian king on the British throne, and the Whigs who had put him there. Hence for some years to come the French and British governments remained in close alliance, and in antagonism to the Bourbon monarchy in Spain, which had obvious reasons for wishing the treaty settlements to be set aside.

The King of Spain married an ambitious and energetic wife when his first wife died, and by her supreme influence the Spanish affairs were placed under the control of an energetic and ambitious minister, Alberoni. Alberoni wished to restore the power of Spain, and to recover the Italian kingdoms which were now in the possession of the emperor Charles VI. With astonishing vigour he bent his mind to restoring the Spanish navy, and to intriguing for a great combination against the now united powers of England and France, which should bring about a Stuart restoration and a revision of the Utrecht treaties. His schemes were wrecked partly by the death of Charles XII. of Sweden and partly because, in an engagement brought on without any formal

declaration of war, the British fleet completely annihilated the new Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro. At the same time Prince Eugène finished the Turkish War by the battle of Belgrade, and set the Imperial troops free to act unhampered in Italy. Alberoni was compelled to retire, and disappeared into private life. With him disappeared the short-lived energy of Spain.

But the young King of France grew up, and with his marriage to a daughter of Stanislaus, the ex-king of Poland, who had been ejected as soon as Charles XII. was unable **Fleury and** to support him, the question of the French **Walpole**. succession seemed likely to settle itself—to the exclusion both of the Spanish Bourbons and of the house of Orleans. Louis placed himself in the hands of Cardinal Fleury as his chief minister; Fleury in France, and Walpole, who became virtually the dictator of British policy, exerted their united influence to maintain the European peace in face of the still active antagonism between Spain and Austria.

Fleury however entered upon that secret agreement with Spain known as the Family Compact, which was directed ultimately against Austria in the first place and Great Britain in the second, with the object of making the Bourbon family paramount in Europe.

We are occasionally told that monarchs and dynasties are of very little real importance, and that history is a matter of inevitable movements and the life of peoples. **2. Dynasties** Nevertheless, it is an unhappy truth that move- **and Wars.** ments are considerably affected by wars, and that during a good many centuries dynastic questions and the personality of monarchs brought about the wars of which the results occasionally depended on the military skill of commanders who happened to be in control of the armies. In the period in which we have recently been dealing, the great war of the Spanish succession was directly dynastic. It arose because the house of Hapsburg and the house of Bourbon each desired to possess itself of Spain; England intervened, because the French king came to recognise the exiled Stuart as King of England.

We are now coming to another group of wars. To-day we can look back and see that a great contest between France

and England was what we must call inevitable, not on dynastic grounds, but because the two nations were not prepared to go shares in India and in North America. It was also extremely improbable that the long-standing dispute between England and Spain over the right to trade in South America would have got settled without war, but even here it was dynastic rather than national considerations which caused Spain and

Wars of the Eighteenth Century. France to unite against England. Yet this was a war in which the rest of Europe had no interest.

The rest of Europe was fighting over the question of the Austrian succession. In that war there was one combatant who cared nothing whatever about the succession question, but was playing entirely for the extension and security of his own dominion. But for the personality of this one man, Frederick the Great, the war would not have had the same effect on Europe; but owing to his personality Prussia emerged at the end as a first-class military power. This group of wars in its second stage, called the Seven Years' War, became resolved into a struggle for life and for empire, no longer dynastic in its motives. But even before this group of wars began there was another dynastic war of succession in which most of Europe managed to involve itself, though the stubborn determination of Walpole kept Great Britain free from it; so that she waxed in wealth, while the rest of the nations were exhausting themselves, and so was better able than any of them to endure the strain when she herself was ultimately plunged into war.

Augustus of Saxony and Poland wanted his son to succeed him on the Polish throne. His old rival, Stanislaus Leczinski,

The Polish Succession, 1733. now father-in-law of the King of France, wanted the succession for himself. The powers for their own

ends took one side or the other. But for the anxiety of the emperor Charles VI. as to the succession to his own dominions, there would probably have been no general conflagration, since Russia was quite determined that the second Augustus of Saxony should be king, and France was only half-hearted in supporting Leczinski. But Charles wished his own daughter Maria Theresa to succeed to the Austrian inheritance,

although certain portions of it descended only through heirs male, and would otherwise not have come to him at all. He issued a decree called the Pragmatic Sanction, making his daughter his heir. He persuaded most of the powers to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, and to procure this guarantee from Saxony he promised Augustus his support. France and Spain, now closely drawn together by dynastic considerations, saw their opportunity for striking at the Hapsburg domination in Italy. The result of all the fighting in this war of the Polish succession was, that Augustus got Poland, a Bourbon prince got Naples and Sicily, France by a somewhat complicated process got Lorraine, whose duke took Tuscany in compensation and married Charles vi.'s daughter; and Austria got practically the whole north of Italy including Tuscany. Also the guarantee to the Pragmatic Sanction was renewed.

We saw that the Great Elector laid the foundations of the power of Brandenburg. He had done so partly by getting into his own hands the absolute control of the heterogeneous collection of provinces which formed his dominion. His son Frederick i. obtained from the emperor the royal title as King of Prussia. Frederick's son Frederick William i. abstained from war, and was an exceedingly rigid economist; but he devoted himself especially to organising and perfecting his army. His son Frederick ii. was to make that army the most powerful in Europe in spite of its comparatively small numbers.

**Birth of the
Prussian
Kingdom.**

In 1740 Frederick William died and was succeeded by Frederick ii. In the same year Charles vi. died, the Austrian succession was claimed by his daughter Maria Theresa and her husband Francis—formerly of Lorraine, now of Tuscany. The Bavarian elector asserted his own claim, and the powers in general tore up their guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction.

**3. War of the
Austrian
Succession.**

Frederick had a claim to the duchy of Silesia on the north-east of Bohemia. He threw his troops into Silesia, and announced to Maria Theresa that he would support the Pragmatic Sanction in arms if she would hand over the province. Maria Theresa declined Frederick's offer. The battle of Möllwitz in the follow-

ing April demonstrated the superiority of the Prussian troops drilled and armed under the system of Frederick William. A military force of unknown capacity had thus been added to the circle of Maria Theresa's enemies, at whose front stood the Elector of Bavaria with his claim of succession both to the Austrian inheritance and to the empire. Spain supported Bavaria, but she was already plunged in a war with Great Britain over commercial quarrels in South American Seas; while her adversary had command of the sea, and so cut her off from the rest of Europe. Great Britain was on the side of Maria Theresa, partly as a matter of good faith; and partly because, her king being elector of Hanover, she could hardly help being on the same side as Hanover on any question in which she intervened.

But for France the war might not have become general; but here an aggressive party became dominant which proposed to partition the Austrian inheritance on the broad principle of France taking the Netherlands, Spain and Savoy or Sardinia sharing Italy, and Bavaria taking Bohemia with the Imperial Crown. Throughout the war it was the main object of England and Hanover to separate Frederick from the alliance by persuading Maria Theresa to concede his claims in Silesia; because King George was very much afraid that otherwise Frederick might invade Hanover. On this point, however, Maria Theresa would not give way. The one stroke of policy on her part was the winning of the enthusiastic support of Hungary, hitherto exceedingly turbulent and unmanageable, by the concession of constitutional privileges persistently demanded but till this time withheld. Nevertheless, the forces allied against the Austrian queen seemed so overwhelming that before the end of 1741 she consented to buy off Frederick by ceding Lower Silesia.

His withdrawal was brief; for the allies captured Prague, and a palace-revolution in Russia placed on the throne the Tsarina Elizabeth, who was inclined to a French alliance. Frederick thought there was more to be gained by again joining the allies. After another victory in 1742, however, he obtained terms from the Austrian queen with which he was satisfied, and he again

retired. Meanwhile the Elector of Bavaria had become emperor as Charles VII.

It is not necessary to follow the fluctuating fortunes of the war. The really decisive event was the death of Charles VII. in 1745, which secured the Imperial succession to the husband of Maria Theresa, and in effect withdrew Bavaria from the struggle. An episode of great importance to Great Britain followed, in the enterprise of Charles Edward Stuart, who made a daring attempt to recover the British Crown. Its failure for ever removed the danger of further attempts at a Stuart restoration, and paved the way for making the union between England and Scotland a real unification of those kingdoms. The war dragged on chiefly because of Maria Theresa's vain hope of recovering Silesia. The general exhaustion brought it to an end in 1748 with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Under it practically all parties resigned all conquests, and the European territories stood again as they had stood when the war began, except that Prussia retained its hold on Silesia. Francis I. was acknowledged as emperor, and the Austrian succession in accordance with the Pragmatic Sanction was accepted.

The war of the Austrian succession had been merely preliminary to another great war. It had sharpened the hostility of English and French colonists in America and of English and French in India. It had weakened the longstanding alliance of Great Britain with Austria, and had left Maria Theresa still determined to take vengeance on Prussia, and to recover Silesia; while Frederick's achievements had raised him to a position alarming to most of the other princes of Germany. Another war between Austria and Prussia and between France and Great Britain was inevitable, but how the opposing forces might combine was not equally clear.

For a hundred years past English colonies had been developing in North America from Florida on the south up to the St. Lawrence. France, by the treaty of Utrecht, had ceded Acadia, but had been developing her own colony of Canada north of the St. Lawrence; and she had planted another colony south-west of the English in Louisiana.

On the strength of this and of her explorations she claimed the whole basin of the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers, as well as the St. Lawrence; a claim which, if conceded, would have entirely precluded the expansion of the British westwards. On the other hand British expansion would have precluded any French expansion south of the St. Lawrence, and there was no compromising the difficulty.

In India neither French nor English were territorial powers, but they had nearly the whole of the trade between them, and each wanted to eject the other. The French were **And in India.** the first to perceive that with the Mogul Empire tumbling to pieces it would not be difficult for a European power which had no rival to acquire an ascendancy. When the war of the Austrian succession broke out the French opened an attack on the British. The European war was stopped by the peace, but it was effectively continued in India by the two parties taking sides in dynastic struggles among the native princes. In the years which immediately follow the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the success which had formerly lain rather with the French passed to the British, mainly owing to the genius of Robert Clive.

The struggle was in fact confined to the southern part of India, the home governments of Great Britain and France taking no part. It is absolutely clear that whenever the home governments should take an active part, the victory would go to the one which, holding command of the sea, should be able to supply reinforcements. As soon as the **British Dominion in India.** two nations were at war again it became abundantly clear that the British had that power and were absolutely certain to win. Again it lay with Robert Clive to demonstrate that if the French were once out of the way the British could make themselves the paramount power in India. This was proved by a punitive expedition undertaken by Clive in 1757 against the Nawab of Bengal, on account of a horrible outrage committed upon the small British community at Calcutta. Clive with some three thousand men routed an army nearly twenty times as large. Bengal acknowledged him as its master, the British East India Company at once became a great territorial

power, and the foundations of British supremacy were securely laid. It only remained to administer the *coup de grâce* to the French rivalry at the battle of Wandewash in 1760.

Nearly four years before Wandewash the great Seven Years' War had broken out in Europe. While British and French colonists were quarrelling in America, Maria Theresa's minister Kaunitz was scheming for a coalition against Frederick of Prussia. Great Britain had no hostility towards Austria; but though her King George II. might as Elector of Hanover be inclined to support the

The Powers
combine for
War.

Imperial house against his dangerous Prussian neighbour, that was rather a reason for Great Britain refusing to join an anti-Prussian combination. Nothing was more certain to raise an outcry in England than a suspicion that the British nation was being dragged into a war in the interests of Hanover. Kaunitz was secure of the alliance of Saxony lying on the south of the Prussian kingdom; and also of Russia, whose Tsarina Elizabeth had taken mortal offence at sundry sarcasms which the Prussian king had uttered about her. But this did not satisfy Kaunitz, who wanted to secure French support; and for the recovery of Silesia he was willing to make concessions to France. Louis xv. was completely under the influence of Madame de Pompadour, whom Frederick had offended as he had Elizabeth of Russia. Spain was now under a peaceful sovereign Ferdinand VI., and would not be drawn into any warlike complications. Thus the circumstances drew the two necessarily hostile powers of Great Britain and France into alliance with Prussia and Austria respectively; reversing the old European position, in which the Bourbons had always been opposed to the Hapsburgs and Great Britain had been habitually on the side of the Hapsburgs.

In the war which followed, breaking out in 1756, Great Britain after the first year devoted herself almost entirely to the maritime and colonial war with France. She supplied contingents to the forces which held Hanover against French invasion, but otherwise she abstained almost entirely from military operations, while she poured into the coffers of the Prussian king the subsidies which enabled him to maintain his resistance to the great circle of his foes.

5. The Seven
Years' War.

France on the other hand expended her energies on maintaining great armies in the field which exhausted her powers. The rivalry between France and Great Britain was, entirely one for empire over-seas, and inevitably the decisive factor therein was supremacy on the sea. This was fully realised by the great minister William Pitt, while it was ignored by King Louis. But though Great Britain fought France on the seas, she rendered great service to Frederick in his desperate struggle, not only by supplying him with funds but also by keeping inactive, though in arms, French troops which had to be held in readiness to face possible invasion on the French coast.

In fact Great Britain and France began fighting on their own account before the Continental War opened. There had been a considerable display of naval preparations, extremely alarming to the British, at Brest and Dunkirk; but it was from Toulon that the French fleet suddenly sailed for Minorca, which, like Gibraltar, had been a British possession since the treaty of Utrecht. The English Admiral Byng was shot for failing to relieve Minorca, which surrendered almost immediately; after which, war was openly declared. The event hastened the other negotiations which were still going on. Frederick received information that the dismemberment of Prussia was designed. He resolved to strike first, and for strategic reasons chose Saxony, lying between Prussia and Bohemia, as the first object of attack. He marched upon Dresden, where he obtained documentary proofs of the conspiracy against Prussia, which he published. But Saxony had to be thoroughly neutralised before he could venture on the advance into Bohemia which was his main object, and the Saxons resisted long enough to compel him to defer the invasion till next year.

In 1757 the war was in full swing. Hanover would have liked to stand neutral, but was compelled to join Frederick. The king had to maintain himself in the territory comprising Hanover, Prussia with Silesia, and Saxony. From the north-east he was threatened by Russia, from the south by Austria, and along the whole line of the west by France. Troops, for the most part Hanoverian and

**The War
in 1757.**

British, were in charge of the Hanoverian frontier; the rest Frederick had to look after for himself.

The year brought violent alternations of fortune. Frederick, swiftest and most sudden of generals, dashed from Saxony upon Prague and won a great victory; but not long afterwards, excessive confidence led him to disaster at Kölin, and he had to beat a retreat from Bohemia with shattered forces. The Duke of Cumberland, in command of the army in Hanover, was driven by a French army northwards to Klosterseven, where he was compelled to capitulate under a convention which the indignant British government refused to ratify. But Frederick recovered himself, and at Rosbach inflicted a great defeat on a second French army which was advancing on Saxony. Thence he dashed to the opposite side of the war area, and shattered at Leuthen an Austrian army engaged in subjugating Silesia.

* The defeat at Rosbach prevented the French from taking advantage of their success in Hanover, where the British and Hanoverian troops were placed under the command of the skilful Ferdinand of Brunswick, and thenceforth proved themselves fully able to cope with all the forces that were sent against them. But over the whole of the rest of the field, though Frederick might win victories, he could only save himself from destruction by the rapidity of his movements. When he had smitten one army, no long time ever elapsed before he had to dash away with the same troops to meet another army on another quarter. Thus in the next year 1758, while Ferdinand drove the French over the Rhine, Frederick had to drive back the advancing Russians at Zorndorf, and then to clear Austrian armies out of both Silesia and Saxony. In the year following he could not prevent the Austrians from capturing the Saxon capital, Dresden, and was severely defeated by the Russians at Kunersdorf; although there was compensation in a great victory won by Ferdinand over the French at Minden.

For one, however, of his opponents this year was extremely disastrous. The British general Wolfe succeeded in capturing

Quebec, which was the key to the French dominions in America ; and the French fleet was annihilated by the English admirals

French Disasters. Boscawen and Hawke off Lagos on the Portuguese coast and at Quiberon Bay on the Coast of Brittany.

In the first month of the next year France suffered the decisive defeat of Wandewash in India. Nevertheless, though France was so far paralysed, it was as much as Frederick could do to save himself from complete destruction during 1760, his operations ending with the battle of Torgau, which left him still in occupation of the greater part of Silesia and Saxony.

All the combatants were becoming exhausted except Great Britain, whose fleets were completely irresistible. France

The War wears out. succeeded in dragging a new King of Spain, Charles III., into the war, with no other result

than to provide more prey for the British. But Pitt's supremacy in England was over ; and the ministry, appalled by the huge war expenditure, desired nothing so much as to make peace even at the price of deserting its Prussian ally. Relief came to Frederick when his enemy the Tsarina died, and his enthusiastic admirer Peter ascended the Russian throne. Six months later Peter was deposed by his wife Catharine, who assumed the government and ruled with vigour, but refused to take any further part in the Seven Years' War. Prussia and Austria were left both of them without an effective ally ; and Frederick, exhausted as he was, could still hold his own

The Peace, 1763. against a single opponent. The war was brought finally to an end at the beginning of 1763 by the treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg.

The total results of the war were that France was shut out of America and India ; and except for a few islands, Great Britain, Spain, Holland and Portugal were the only colonial powers. There were no territorial changes in Europe, but Frederick had definitely raised Prussia to a position of equality among the powers with France and Austria. But Frederick was left bitterly hostile to England on account of her desertion of him at the close of the war ; while France was thirsting for an opportunity to humiliate the island power which had humbled her, and to win back what she had lost.

For a considerable interval Europe had rest from wars on any large scale. But during the next twenty years' Great Britain became involved in a quarrel which brought about an event of first-rate importance in the world's history, the birth of the independent nation called the United States of America. The British colonies had not been treated like those of Spain, as estates of the Crown. They had been left for the most part to manage their own affairs, though with more interference from their governors, whom they did not choose for themselves, than the Crown was able to exercise in England. But they had to submit to trade regulations imposed by the English and later by the British parliament, which benefited the Mother Country at the expense of the colonies. These they had endured, not without protest and occasionally even active resistance; partly because the authorities winked at evasions, and partly because of the protection afforded to them against their French rivals by British forces. This protection they could not afford to dispense with so long as the French in Canada could appeal to France for support against them.

6. American
Independ-
ence.

The
Colonial
System.

But now there was nothing to fear from the French nation, and the French colonists in Canada had become British subjects by the treaty of Paris. Also the British government, anxious to retrench and to make up for the great expenditure on the war, demanded a very strict enforcement of the irritating trade regulations. This might have been endured, since the imposition of customs for the regulation of trade in the interests of British commerce had always been recognised as something quite different from taxation of which the object was to raise revenue. But when the British government proceeded to impose fresh taxes of a trivial but irritating character, with the avowed object not of regulating trade but of raising revenue, the colonists caught at the opportunity of protesting that the fundamental principle of the British Constitution was set at nought. For the Declaration of Right, the instrument under which the succession to the English Crown had been changed in 1688,

The
Quarrel,
1765.

THE BOURBON AGE

laid it down as an essential principle of liberty that no tax may be imposed on the people without the formal assent of their representatives. Yet here was the British parliament imposing taxes on the colonists, who had no representatives to give or refuse assent. The colonists professed their willingness to pay what they themselves considered a fair share of the expenses of a war entered upon largely on their behalf. The alternative of giving them representation on the British parliament was in those days obviously impracticable though it was gravely put forward. But the British governments, with one short-lived exception, would not trust the colonists to tax themselves, and insisted on the technical right^a left them by the colonial charters to legislate for and to tax the **American colonies at their own discretion.** The colonies **War, 1775.** resisted and took up arms; first of all only in defence of what they regarded as their rights, and then—when their claims continued to be disregarded—in order to win complete independence.

From the time of the fall of William Pitt, the British administration neglected the organisation of the navy, which had **French** attained to such supreme efficiency under him. **Intervention.** France, on the other hand, had been steadily endeavouring to raise the standard of her own navy. As soon as it appeared that the American colonists had a chance of making head successfully against the Mother Country, France took up arms in their support, presently drawing Spain after her. Great Britain found herself fighting for life. Even the sovereignty of the seas seemed about to be torn from her, until the French fleet in the West Indies was decisively shattered by Rodney, and the British maritime supremacy was restored. But by this time all hope of bringing the colonies under subjection had disappeared, and the war was closed by a **The United** peace which recognised the Independence of the **States, 1783.** United States. The new nation chose for its first president George Washington, the man to whose integrity, resolution, patience and skill she had chiefly owed her success in the contest.

The struggle had hardly touched Canada, where the French

population, accustomed to being ruled, not to ruling themselves, had no sympathy with the aspirations of the other colonies with their English traditions. There the British government had deliberately aimed at conciliating **Canada.** its French subjects and respecting their traditions and prejudices. Canada became a refuge for many of the families of the south, who had remained loyal to the British Crown in the face of bitter hostility, and preferred remaining under the British Crown to becoming citizens of the new American Republic.

In India the same period saw the British rule in Bengal, and the British ascendancy among the native powers thoroughly established. The Mogul, still nominally the legal sovereign and source of authority all over **7. India.**

India, recognised the East India Company as being officially the government in Bengal. The British Governor, **Warren** Warren Hastings, in spite of extraordinary diffi- **Hastings.**

culties created by the blunders of subordinates and the unscrupulous opposition of colleagues, as well as the hostile ambitions of native potentates and rivals, successfully maintained and strengthened the British position; though sometimes adopting methods which could only be excused on the ground that without them the British would have been driven out of India. Immediately after the close of the American War of Independence, the British government, headed by the younger William Pitt, established that system of a joint control of the Indian dominion by the East India Com- **The** pany and by ministers of the Crown which lasted **Position in** until 1858. But it must be very clearly grasped **India, 1784.**

that as yet the actual British territory consisted of little more than the great province of Bengal on the Lower Ganges, and the two small districts round Madras and Bombay; although the considerable province of Arcot, in which Madras was situated, was practically under their control. Over the great native state into which nine-tenths of India was divided, they exercised only the influence attaching to what every one felt to be the strongest military power. The British and the native princes alike still professed to acknowledge the supreme

sovereignty vested in the Mogul, the powerless ruler who resided at Delhi.

A new nation was created in America, but an old nation was on the verge of disappearing from Europe. We have seen

Poland several times brought into the complications
 8. Poland. of Western Europe; not intervening as an active power on its own initiative, but somehow providing cause of dispute for others. Poland's own interests lay eastward, where she held territories once claimed as Russian, or coveted by the Turk; and on the Baltic, where the Polish provinces intervened between Brandenburg and Prussia proper. This division of the Prussian king's territories was a grievous source of weakness to him, and he greatly coveted this province of West Prussia as it was called just as he had coveted Silesia. But Frederick was not prepared to expose himself to a general attack by any personal act of aggression.

Poland itself was a kingdom in which the king had very little power, and each of the nobles was in effect under no control. Under its constitution Poland could hardly take united action unless the nobles were unanimous, and practically they were never unanimous. It was in no one's interest except that of the Poles that Poland should be strong, and the Poles themselves, or the nobles, preferred personal independence to national strength.

Most of the powers took a certain interest in the succession to the Polish Crown. It was evident that there would soon be
 First an election when Augustus of Saxony should die.
 Partition. Prussia and Russia were both anxious to stop the continuity of the Saxon line, which was favoured by both France and Austria. Prussia was anxious to detach Austria from the French Alliance, so was Catharine of Russia. The emperor Francis died, and his son Joseph was elected emperor while Maria Theresa still remained queen of the combined Austrian kingdoms. Joseph was a great admirer of his mother's old enemy Frederick. So it became comparatively easy for Frederick to propound a scheme under which he was to get West Prussia, thus making his Baltic territories continuous; Austria was to have Poland's southern border province, and

Russia was to have the east province. The kingdom of Poland, thus reduced, would be practically subservient to Russia. The scheme was duly carried out in 1772, when Great Britain was busy with her American quarrel, and France could not afford to intervene single-handed. Second and Third Partitions. Twenty-one years later the same three powers again parcelled out what was left of Poland among themselves.

France also during these years acquired the Island of Corsica, which had long been subject to the Italian republic of Genoa. The Corsicans were in constant revolt, and the patriots offered the country to Great Britain. Corsica. Great Britain declined the offer, and France took over Corsica by an arrangement with the Genoese. Thus it was the merest accident that Napoleon Buonaparte happened to be born a French instead of a British subject.

Throughout this period men's minds were actively engaged on political speculation ; on theorising about ideal forms of government, the rights of man, the duties of rulers to their subjects and of subjects to their rulers. Many of them held up to admiration the British government, which appeared to combine the advantages of monarchical government, government by an aristocracy composed of the most competent members of the community, and government by the will of the people. On the other hand there were the theorists, who placed their political faith in benevolent despotism ; government by the will of a single wise ruler directed to the common welfare of his subjects. The popular philosophy, however, claimed that all government had its source and its justification only in the will of the people ; without offering any clear answer to the question how that will was to be ascertained, or to the kindred question, whether the will of a simple numerical majority was the same thing as the will of the people. As a matter of fact every important government in Europe was more or less despotic, and every king was trying to make himself an absolute despot ; in some cases, such as that of Frederick the Great, with the approval of the mass of their subjects ; while others, such as the Emperor Joseph, had the very best intentions, but found their 9. The Approach of Revolution.
Despotisms and the Rights of Man.

subjects vigorously opposed to them. In short there was a kind of intellectual ferment such as was in progress in the early years of the sixteenth century; but at that time it had tended to centre on religion, whereas now it was centred on the principles of government.

The American revolt excited much enthusiasm among the theoretical advocates of the Rights of Man, and the exceedingly homely envoys from America were received with enthusiasm in the glittering salons of Paris; but in France itself the Rights of Man were to receive a new and terrible interpretation.

The French king, Louis XVI., like the Austrian emperor Joseph, was a person with excellent intentions. Joseph was also
 State of a man full of great ideas, which he strove ener-
 France. getically to carry out in the face of an opposition which was too powerful for him. Louis had no ideas, and shifted from one incompetent adviser to another with a vague hope that some good might result. But the government of the country had for long been conducted for the benefit of one section of the community at the expense of the rest. The nobles were practically free from taxation, of which the burden fell on the middle classes, and with crushing severity on the peasantry. There was an appalling waste in the expenditure; but even with the most rigid economy, a readjustment of burdens, taxing the rich as well as the poor, was absolutely necessary to relieve the poor from the intolerable strain. The whole system was thoroughly rotten, and the privileged classes were strong enough to prevent any reforms which touched their own immunities. At length the clamour for some reconstruction became so formidable that a proposal was adopted for summoning the States General or assembly of the three estates of the realm—the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Commons—which had never been called together during the last hundred and seventy years.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK VII., 1660 TO 1789

GUIDING DATES

Louis XIV. assumes control	1661	Fall of Marlborough	. . . 1711
Independence of Portugal	. 1665	Treaty of Utrecht	. . . 1713
Louis attacks Holland	. 1672	Hanoverian succession in	
William III. of Orange, Stadt-		Britain	. . . 1714
holder	. . . 1672	Death of Louis XIV.	. . . 1715
Treaty of Nimeguen	. . 1678	Battle of Belgrade	. . . 1717
Accession of Peter the Great	1682	Turkish aggression ends at	
Turks besiege Vienna :		Treaty of Passarowitz	. 1718
Sobieski	. . . 1683	Fall of Alberoni	. . . 1719
Revocation of Edict of		Pragmatic Sanction issued	. 1720
Nantes	. . . 1685	Walpole's ascendancy	. 1721-42
Louis attacks the Palatinate	1688	Fleury's ascendancy	. 1726-43
William III. of Orange, King		Bourbon Family Com-	
of England	. . . 1689	pact	. . . . .
Battle of La Hogue	. . . 1692	War of Polish Succes-	} 1733-35
Treaty of Ryswick	. . . . .	sion	
Accession of Charles XII.	} 1697	War between Great Britain	
(Sweden)		and Spain	. . . 1739
Augustus of Saxony, King		Frederick II. King of	
of Poland	. . . . .	Prussia	. . . . .
Wars of Charles XII. begin.	1700	War of Austrian succes-	} 1740
Aurangzib	. . . 1658-1707	sion begins	
Prussia becomes a king-		French and British at war	
dom	. . . . .	in India	. . . 1744
The Grand Alliance	. . . . .	Francis I. emperor	. . . 1745
War of Spanish succession		End of Jacobitism	. . . 1746
begins	. . . 1702	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	. 1748
Battle of Blenheim	. . . 1704	Seven Years' War begins	. 1756
England and Scotland united		Clive's conquest of Bengal	} 1757
as Great Britain	. . . 1707	Frederick II. wins Rosbach	
Pultawa : and Malplaquet	. 1709	and Leuthen	. . . . .

British victories of Qui- beron and Quebec . . . 1759	American War of Independ- ence begins . . . 1775
French crushed in India . . 1760	Peace of Versailles . . . 1783
Peace of Paris and Huberts- burg 1763	Pitt's India Act . . . 1784
First Partition of Poland . . 1772	Britain annexes Australia } The States General sum- } 1788 moned }
Accession of Louis XVI. . . 1774	

LEADING NAMES

Louis XIV.—Charles II. of England—William III. of Orange—Colbert—Louvois—Turenne—John Sobieski—Prince Eugène—Marlborough—Peter the Great—Charles XII.—Regent Orleans—Walpole—Fleury—Alberoni—Frederick William I.—Frederick the Great—Charles VI.—Maria Theresa—Emperor Francis I.—Tsarina Elizabeth—Tsarina Catharine—William Pitt, Earl of Chatham—Robert Clive—George Washington—Warren Hastings—Emperor Joseph II.—George III.—William Pitt the Younger.

NOTES

THE SPANISH AND AUSTRIAN SUCCESSIONS, 1700 AND 1740.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE, SHOWING CLAIMANTS TO PORTIONS OF THE SPANISH DOMINION, 1699-1701, AND OF THE AUSTRIAN DOMINION, 1740.

FRANCE.

Henry IV.

Louis XIII.

Louis XIV.
m. Infanta
Maria
Theresa.

Philip, D. of
Orleans.
'Regent'
Orleans.

Maria
Theresa, *m.*
Louis XIV.

Dauphin.

Duke of Burgundy.

Louis XV.

† Philip V.

Maria, *m.*
† Elector of Bavaria.
† Electoral Prince.

SPAIN.

Philip III.

Philip IV.

Charles II.

Maria, *m.*
FERDINAND III.

Margaret, *m.*
LEOPOLD I.

AUSTRIA.

Ferdinand II.

FERDINAND III.
m. Infanta Maria.

† LEOPOLD I., :

1.
Infanta
Margaret.

2.
Eleanor of
Neuberg.

JOSEPH I.

Maria Amelia
m. Elector of
Bavaria,
*CHARLES VII.

Archduke
† CHARLES VI.

*Maria
m. Francis of
Lorraine,
FRANCIS I.

Emperors printed in capitals. Kings of France printed in italics. Kings of Spain printed in dark type.
† Claimants in war of Spanish Succession. * Claimants in war of Austrian Succession.

Characteristics of the Age. The age recorded in Book VI. might be described as the era of zeal, and especially of religious zeal. The strife of Protestantism and Romanism was to a large extent one of passionate beliefs, in which each side honestly held that it was fighting for God against the Devil. With a slight difference the contest between Royalists and Puritans in England and Scotland was, also a conflict of ideals. But the next age dealt with in the book just concluded was a critical age, which discouraged zeal for the most part, and was wanting in ideals. It subordinated emotion and sentiment to reason and practical convenience. Its typical intellectual product was the Frenchman Voltaire. And just as the age was one of reaction against the emotional age which preceded it, so it led up to the counter-reaction, which was finding expression before the era closed in the French Swiss Rousseau, and took material shape in the French Revolution.

War and Religion. In our last period the root-cause of most of the wars which occurred is to be found in the antagonism of religions. But in the wars of Louis XIV. we find Protestant and Catholic powers ranged side by side in resistance to the aggression of Louis XV., whose motive presents itself as that of aggrandising himself and his dynasty. Religion, as a motive, occupies only a very minor place, but it is still revealed as present chiefly in the relations between France, England, and Holland. The security of a Protestant succession at all costs drove England to make common cause with Holland, both when William III. was king and in the war of the Spanish succession. Yet the Treaty of Utrecht shows that colonial rivalry is already taking the first place as the subject of contention between Britain and France; and in the war of the Austrian succession, and the Seven Years' War, as well as in the war of American Independence, colonial questions entirely overshadow all others, so far as concerns Britain.

North American Races. The 'Red Indians' of North America never reached a stage of civilisation in which they could be said to have formed states; they had no towns. They seem to have been developing agricultural settlements when English colonisation began, but resumed migratory habits. Their tribes formed leagues or federations, and made fierce onslaughts on the European settlers from time to time; a northern group known as the 'Five Nations' were particularly active and dangerous. Wars with them, however, were always in the nature of raids and counter-raids; they never adapted themselves to civilised life, but remained nomads and hunters.

BOOK VIII
THE EUROPEAN CONVULSION

CHAPTER XXV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

THE French States-General met in May 1789. In April 1792 France declared war against Austria; and from that time until the midsummer of 1815 she was always at war with **1. The Era** one power and often with many, except for four- **of Convulsion.** teen months during 1802-3, and for twelve months in 1814-15. Throughout this period of twenty-six years, French affairs overshadow those of the rest of Europe; they are the pivot on which nearly all European questions turn. We shall therefore open this chapter with some preliminary explanations, chiefly as to extraneous matters, in order to avoid interrupting the course of the narrative.

In Prussia Frederick the Great had already been succeeded by his nephew Frederick William II., a prince lacking both in energy and in ability, who reigned till 1797. In **The European** Russia, Catharine II. was still Tsarina, her reign **Powers.** lasting till the end of 1795. Her interests were concerned mainly with Turkey and Poland, and her proceedings necessarily affected both Prussia and Austria and the mutual relations of those powers. Joseph II. was still emperor. Early in 1790 he was succeeded by his very able brother Leopold II.; but Leopold reigned for barely two years, and his successor Francis II. was not of the calibre to make an efficient leader for Europe. He reigned throughout the period. In England George III. was king. The British Empire had been torn in two, and one portion of it had become the American nation in 1783; but from that time till the end of the century, and in

effect for longer, the man who controlled the destinies of Great Britain was the second William Pitt. Great Britain was the last of the great states to be drawn into the struggle with France; but from the beginning of 1793 she was the only one which to the very end was persistently dominated by the determination to resist French aggression at all costs. Almost down to that date there was a strong inclination in England to regard the French Revolution with sympathy; after it the conviction prevailed that France was once again, as in the days of Louis xiv., seeking to become not the liberator but the dictator of Europe. Moreover, the Reign of Terror in France produced in England as elsewhere a strong reaction against all previous tendencies to increase the political power of the populace.

The States General met, having before it the immense task of reorganising French finances, dealing with the oppressive privileges of the nobles, the clergy, and the court, and reconstructing the Constitution on lines recognising the popular right to a share in political power. The three estates were the noblesse, the clergy, and the commons. A battle at once began for the predominance of the third estate, which turned on the principle that the three estates should vote as one body, since otherwise the two privileged bodies would outvote the third unprivileged body. The three estates were the noblesse, the clergy, and the commons. A battle at once began for the predominance of the third estate, which turned on the principle that the three estates should vote as one body, since otherwise the two privileged bodies would outvote the third unprivileged body.

2. Fall of the French Monarchy. The third estate, led by Mirabeau, himself a scion of the nobility, carried the day. But it seemed that the court and the privileged orders meant to override what had now been converted into the 'National Assembly.' The people of Paris enrolled themselves in the force which became the National Guard; the soldiers sided with the people; amid general acclamation, the Bastille, the fortress prison representative of arbitrary rule, was stormed and overthrown. The populace of Paris were masters of the situation.

The court party were cowed; many of them took flight from the country. Most of the sincere reformers had not yet realised how weak were the forces left to control the passions of the mob if they were once fairly roused, though the risings of the peasantry against the 'seigneurs,' over half France, might have given warning. The

The End of Feudalism.

National Assembly attacked what seemed to be the root-cause of the general grievances; and within a month of the fall of the Bastille, it had practically wiped out all the obnoxious privileges of noblesse and clergy. But the whole fabric of the social order in France was based on the existence of these privileges; it was necessary to replace them by some system on which a new social order could rest. In England, something like popular government had gradually grown up, but at every stage the reformers had always claimed and felt that they were not introducing innovations but merely safeguarding the fundamental principles of the Constitution. In France, it was the fundamental principles that were shattered, and new fundamental principles had to be found and substituted for them. Intent on its high purpose, the Assembly set about constructing a new constitution, for which reason it was now entitled the 'Constituent' Assembly.

**The First
Constitution,
1790.**

A constitution was arrived at which was entirely incapable of working. A strong central government was a sheer necessity in a state where the old order was broken up, as Oliver Cromwell had found in England; but anything creating a strong central government in France was looked on as a return to despotism. The one man who might conceivably have saved France, Mirabeau, died. The king made the disastrous blunder of attempting to fly from the country—and failing; while the émigrés, those of the court party who had fled, were clamouring to persuade foreign powers to intervene and restore the French monarchy.

A reconciliation was effected however. The king remained king, accepting the new constitution, and the governing body was a new 'Legislative' Assembly of which no one who had sat in the National Assembly was allowed to be a member. The immense majority of them were practically republicans, divided into two parties known as the Girondins and the Jacobins or the 'Mountain. The real leaders of the latter, Danton, Robespierre, and Marat were actually not members of the Assembly at all.

**The
Legislative
Assembly,
1791.**

The Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia had adopted an attitude which in France was regarded as insolently aggressive ;

so much so that the Assembly compelled the king to declare war upon Austria at the very moment when Leopold died.

France
declares War,
1792. France at the same time became possessed with the theory of Louis XIV., that she had a right to her

'Natural' boundaries—those which would give her a geographically complete territory, girdled on two sides by the sea, on the south by the sea and the Pyrenees, and on the east by the Alps and the River Rhine. This involved the appropriation of some German territory, and of the Austrian Netherlands or Belgium, which in character and language were French rather than Austrian. Thus France had two distinct motives for war, one aggressive, the other patriotically defiant of foreign interference in French affairs. To this was presently added a third, that of liberating the 'peoples' of Europe from 'slavery' to monarchs, for which subjection to the 'liberty'-loving French Republic was to be substituted.

Patriots crowded to the armies which hastened to the frontiers. Louis really hoped for the restoration of his own dignities by the foreign intervention which he was
September
Massacres. defying. The Jacobins captured the Paris government or 'Commune' and the persons of the whole royal family, while the Legislative Assembly showed that it had no real control. The prisons were already crowded with 'suspects,' persons who were supposed to be connected with the émigrés and plotters for an aristocratic restoration: an immense number more were suddenly seized and massacred (September 1792), largely owing to panic over the advance of the Prussian and Austrian forces on the frontier, an advance which was checked almost at the same moment. Also at the same moment the Legislative Assembly was dissolved and replaced by a new National Convention, dominated by extremists.

In the course of the next four months the revolution was completed. The first act of the Convention was to declare the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. In all directions the armies of the
The Head of
a King,
Jan. 1793. republic were successful, in Savoy, on the Rhine, and in Belgium. The Convention proclaimed that all the territories occupied by French troops were liberated from

their masters and under French protection. Finally it brought the unfortunate Louis XVI. to trial, and condemned him to death. His head fell under the guillotine, and France was immediately at war with all the kings of Europe.

Now Prussia and Austria were both quite as much taken up with the last partition of Poland which Catharine of Russia had just arranged as with the French war. It was true that the French generals, Dumouriez and others, had been remarkably successful; but it was not to be imagined that a country in the throes of a revolution, emptied of the families which had led it for generations, with no one of experience to guide it, and in a state of financial chaos, could possibly offer a prolonged resistance to the arms of united Europe; so united Europe only gave half its attention to France. England took the seas, but her army had not won distinction in America, and her troops were now placed under the command of the king's second son—the Duke of York, who was an entirely inefficient general. The republic, on the other hand, possessed in Carnot a man endowed with a genius for military organisation and an infallible skill in the selection of officers, while he was entirely unhampered by respect for tradition in the one case and for rank or family in the other. Ability was the one condition without which no one could hope to obtain a command, success the one condition of retaining it. Failure was as likely as not to lead the way to the guillotine—failure, or the suspicion of aristocratic proclivities. And the men were consumed with a fervour of patriotism which had the same effect on their courage as the religious fanaticism of the Moslem. The French waged war as if they had been a united people under a stable government, partly at least because on the question of the war they really were united; and Carnot's military administration was not interfered with.

In the months immediately following the death of King Louis, nothing seemed so likely as that the different groups would devour each other. In the rivalry between the Girondins, who had now become the party of moderation, and the Jacobins, the latter were victorious, drove the Girondins out of office, and sent many of them to the

3. The
Terror.

France
against the
Monarchies.

The
Mountain.

guillotine. The peasants of La Vendée revolted, in the cause of Church and king. Marat, the most bloodthirsty of the 'Mountain,' was assassinated by Charlotte Corday. The Royalists at Toulon held the citadel and port under the protection of the guns of a British fleet. But the Jacobins held the government at Paris; the administration was entirely controlled by a small body called the Committee of Public Safety, on which were conferred powers more absolute than those of any dictator. Their commissioners in every district and in every camp ruled despotically; men and women were flung into prison in thousands as 'suspects,' and murdered in hundreds by their tribunals as aristocrats. At one stage Paris provided some fifty daily victims to the guillotine for several weeks. Appalling profanities and obscenities were perpetrated in the name of the 'Goddess of Reason' till even Paris sickened; and Robespierre turned on the most disgusting of his allies, only to follow up their destruction by that of Danton who had become the chief of the moderate party now called the Indulgents. But the terror had reached a pitch at which no man felt his head secure.

**Fall of
Robespierre,
1794.**

Indulgents and Terrorists united to overthrow Robespierre, who followed his own victims to the guillotine, just eighteen months after Louis had been slain. The country was sated with the horrors on which it had supped so long, and the Thermidorean reaction (so called from the name of the month 'Thermidor' in which it took place, the republic having reconstructed the calendar) brought in an administration which put an end to the Reign of Terror.

Meanwhile the allies had been conducting the war without energy; the Rhine provinces and Belgium were practically in the hands of the French, who owed the recovery of Toulon also to the skill of the young artillery officer Napoleon Buonaparte. Their troops crossed the Pyrenees and invaded Spain. The one notable success of the allies was in a sea-fight off Ushant, won on June 1st (1794) by Lord Howe. In the winter the French overran Holland, which shortly transformed itself into the Batavian Republic; the Stadtholder William of Orange fled to England, to which

**Military
Successes.**

power he transferred the Dutch Colony at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1795 the three eastern powers made a further partition of Poland, and both Prussia and Spain retired from the French war.

The French government which assumed control in July 1794 and overthrew Robespierre set about the usual business of inventing a new constitution. The administration was to be in the hands of a Directory of five; two Assemblies were to have charge of legislation. Two-thirds of the members of the first Assemblies were to be taken from among the members of the National Convention. When the time arrived for the elections, Paris rose in insurrection; the head of the government, Barras, entrusted the task of dealing with the mob to Buonaparte, though he was only six-and-twenty. Buonaparte brought artillery to bear, and the insurrection was suppressed. Thus the Directory was established.

Henceforth Buonaparte or Bonaparte—as he presently spelt his name—is the central figure; but until 1799 he is in theory merely one of the generals of the Republic. In fact, he had already made up his mind to play the part of Julius Cæsar. The plan of campaign which he submitted to Carnot procured him the command of the armies of the Republic in Italy, which was selected as one area of the war with Austria. Two other armies were to advance on Vienna through Germany.

In Italy, Austria had for her ally the King of Sardinia and his subjects in Piedmont. Bonaparte joined the French forces in April and opened one of the most brilliant and startling campaigns on record; making it his great principle to keep the enemy split up so that he could destroy them in detachments. This he accomplished by the rapidity and audacity of his movements. Thus he shattered their centre at Montenotte. The Austrian wing retired on the Po, the Piedmontese on Turin, but the King of Sardinia saw that Piedmont was thus practically lost and promptly made his own peace. Bonaparte turned on the Austrians, routed them at the Bridge of Lodi, and took posses-

The
Directory,
1795-99.

Bonaparte.

The
Italian
Campaign,
1796.

sion of Milan. Naples was also supposed to be an ally of Austria, but at once followed the example of Sardinia. Bonaparte conducted his operations with very little regard for the instructions he received from Paris, and while the Austrians were shut up in Mantua he asserted the French supremacy over North Italy, levying contributions and taking toll of the art-treasures of every city, and making his own arrangements. Austrian reinforcements poured into Italy from the Tyrol, but again Bonaparte shattered them while they were in separate divisions. More reinforcements came at the end of the year; they met with the same fate at the battles of Arcola and Rivoli. Mantua was forced to surrender, the
1797.

pope had to accede to the treaty of Tolentino, by which he ceded some of the papal states already occupied by French troops, and the 'Cispadane Republic' was established in North Italy. Meanwhile the other campaign in Germany had been foiled; before it was possible for another general to advance and deprive him of his laurels, Bonaparte was on his way to Austria; and at Leoben, Austrian commissioners signed a treaty which was confirmed with some alterations later in the year at Campo Formio. Austria ceded Belgium and Lombardy, but received a slice of Venetian territory, for which Bonaparte found a sufficient excuse in an émeute which had taken place in Venice, though that power was nominally neutral.

In the meantime, the British command of the sea had been threatened by Spain and Holland joining France; but the Spanish fleet was shattered by Admiral Jervis off Cape St. Vincent in February, and the Dutch by Admiral Duncan at Camperdown in October. In Paris, political plots and counterplots drove Carnot into exile and removed two of the generals who might have been Bonaparte's rivals, while, unhappily for France, the ablest of them all and infinitely the noblest, Hoche, also died. When Bonaparte returned to Paris after Campo Formio, it was obvious that he was completely master of the situation. But the hour for which he was waiting had not yet arrived. He had conceived the idea of capturing Egypt and Syria, and with

**Treaty of
Campo
Formio.**

**Bonaparte's
Scheme.**

Asia as his base conquering both Europe and India. He had already learnt to regard Great Britain as the one serious obstacle to his tremendous ambitions, which were hidden from the Directory; they were well enough pleased by any plan which would keep their terrible general as far as possible from France.

Great preparations were made, ostensibly for an invasion of England; but when the French fleet snatched an opportunity for sailing out of Toulon with Bonaparte on board, while the British squadron under Nelson's command was temporarily disabled by weather, its objective was not England but Egypt. Nelson was promptly in hot pursuit, but passed the French in a fog and found no one at Alexandria. When the game of hide-and-seek was ended, and he caught and annihilated the French fleet at the battle of the Nile, or Aboukir Bay (Aug. 1st), Bonaparte and his army had already landed and were engaged in making themselves masters of Egypt. But Nelson's victory turned the Mediterranean into a British lake; Bonaparte's communications with France were completely cut off. Left entirely dependent on his own resources in Egypt, he brought that country into subjection; but when he carried his arms into Syria, he was foiled by the stubborn resistance of Acre. His great scheme had been ruined by the destruction of the French fleet. Returning to Egypt, news reached him of European events which caused him hastily to make sail for France with a few companions, leaving Egypt under the control of General Kléber.

When Bonaparte sailed for Egypt, Great Britain was the only nation with which the Republic was actually at war. Austria and Prussia were at odds as to the compensation to be given to the Rhineland princes whose territories the recent treaties handed over to France. The Tsar Paul, who succeeded Catharine in Russia at the end of 1796, took offence at Bonaparte's seizure of Malta on his way to Egypt, and was hostile to all the ideas which the French Revolution represented. The Directory roused general alarm in Europe by its high-handed treatment of the pope, and by organising a Roman

Republic, and a new 'Helvetic Republic' in Switzerland, and replacing the 'monarchy at Naples by a 'Parthenopean' Republic.

Hence, by the beginning of 1799, a new coalition was formed against France, its chief members being Great Britain, Russia, and Austria. War was declared, and the French
 1799. generals met with a series of reverses, especially at the hands of the Russian Suvarov or Suvarrow in the north of Italy; the Bourbon monarchy was restored at
 Second Coalition. Naples under the protection of Nelson's fleet. The ship which carried Bonaparte evaded hostile squadrons and landed him in October. Although in the meantime Austria and Russia had quarrelled and Suvarov had thrown up his command, the military situation was still critical, and the political situation at Paris was still more so.

The returned general hastened to Paris, acclaimed as the conqueror of Egypt. The Directory had lost public confidence and was hopelessly out of touch with the Assemblies. The
 Return of Bonaparte. constitution did not permit any one so young as Bonaparte—now only thirty—to join the Directory; but he found a useful ally in one of its members, the Abbé Sieyès, the archbuilder of constitutions. Sieyès had a new constitution quite ready, exquisitely symmetrical, with the governmental powers so admirably distributed that every one was a check on every one else, and there was no real power anywhere at all. It only remained necessary to create one official with power to override every one else, in place of the figure-head provided by the Sieyès constitution.

This was done. A *coup d'état* was carried out, the Assemblies being forced to submission by the advance of the soldiery who were behind the great soldier. Napoleon Bonaparte
 Bonaparte First Consul, was proclaimed 'First Consul,' with, for form's
 Nov. 1799. sake, a pair of colleagues, also called consuls, whose functions were merely formal. The First Consul was nominally appointed only for ten years; but the appointment of all executive officers, including all ministers, was in his hands, and also that of the 'Council of State,' a body created by the new constitution, who alone had power to introduce

legislation. Hence the First Consul was in effect a complete autocrat, who even held in his own hands the appointment of all the local authorities possessed of any powers. The title, borrowed from Republican Rome, lasted for a little more than four years, when it was exchanged for that of Emperor ; but for all practical purposes Napoleon was thenceforth the absolute monarch of France.

CHAPTER XXVI

NAPOLEON, FIRST CONSUL AND EMPEROR

NAPOLEON at once began to make peace-overtures to Great Britain and Austria, but the governments refused to regard them

1. The as genuine; so in the year after his *coup d'état*
First Consul. (which was confirmed by a *plébiscite* or popular vote)

he flung himself into Italy, where Masséna was holding out stubbornly in Genoa for France. He let Genoa

1800. fall, for the sake of inflicting a crushing defeat on

the Austrians at Marengo, a victory which was owed to the fortunate audacity of a subordinate. But though this gave him the upper hand in North Italy, Austria was not yet beaten to her knees. This, however, was brought about in the winter, when Moreau, advancing on Vienna, won the decisive victory of Hohenlinden. Austria was compelled to accept the peace of Lunéville, and Britain was left to fight alone.

Her naval power was again threatened by what was called the Armed Neutrality, a league of the northern naval powers to resist

1801. the rights at sea which had hitherto always been

claimed by the strongest navies and protested against by the rest. Now, however, there was good reason to

British think that the Armed Neutrality was only prepara-
Successes. tory to placing these fleets at the service of France;

so, although Britain was at peace with Denmark, she sent a fleet to Copenhagen, and by the 'Battle of the Baltic' enforced Danish submission. French prospects were further damaged by the assassination of the Tsar Paul, who had come to regard Napoleon as the destroyer of Jacobinism. His successor, Alex-

ander I., was full of liberal ideas, reversed the policy of Paul, and made friends with Britain. A British army was landed in Egypt, which defeated the French at Aboukir and compelled them to capitulate at Alexandria. Hence a general peace, which proved after all to be only a brief truce, was signed at Amiens in March 1802.

Peace, 1802.

Although the French government still made pretence of being a Republic, Napoleon's absolutism was certainly no less complete than that of Louis XIV. He set about reconciling hostile elements to the new régime, which satisfied the people at large, since they were not to be deprived of the material benefits which they had gained by the Revolution. So much being secured, they had lost all anxiety for the possession of political power, in the sense of participating in the government. There was a formal reconciliation with the clergy and the Church, though these were still treated as subordinate to the state. The exiled Royalists were allowed to return to a country where a Bourbon restoration was now a manifest impossibility. The glories of the court were revived in all their old magnificence. Splendid buildings rose, costly public works were undertaken. Napoleon set on foot and carried through a great codification of the laws, establishing a uniform system in place of the infinite number of local laws and usages which had grown up in the days when there was practically no central government. The 'Code Napoléon' which was not completed till some years afterwards, was introduced in all the lands which the emperor brought under his sway, and modified the law of those countries permanently. The pretence of a Republic was itself brought to an end in 1804, when Napoleon was proclaimed no longer First Consul, but Emperor.

Bonaparte's
Administration.

Meanwhile, a diet, under French supervision, was working out the arrangements for the reorganisation of the German Empire in French and Russian interests, which meant in part the aggrandisement of Prussia as a counterpoise to Austria. Secular princes whose territories were annexed to France, as well as others, were compensated by the secularisation of the ecclesiastical domains—that is, by their absorption into the lay principalities. At the same time the various Re-

Foreign
Policy.

publics set up in Italy, Holland, and Switzerland, were brought more directly under French control. This process was alarming, at least to the greater states. But Napoleon had no doubt of his ability to manage all of them, except the persistently hostile Britain, which made no haste to carry out the terms of the treaty of Amiens while it saw France practically ignoring them.

Fifteen months after the treaty, the friction between these two powers had reached the point of another open rupture, and war

was declared. Napoleon gathered at Boulogne vast armaments which he hoped to create an opportunity for flinging across the Channel, and masses of British volunteers were drilling to meet the invader when he came. But Napoleon could not strike while the British fleets swept the seas, and the British had no armies fit to attack Napoleon's veterans.

Then Napoleon shocked all Europe by kidnapping a Bourbon prince, the Duc d'Enghien, on foreign soil, and having him shot as an accomplice in a royalist plot which had just been discovered and crushed in Paris; a plot which led directly to the assumption of the title of Emperor by Napoleon, since the acknowledgment of his dynasty seemed needed to put an end finally to Bourbon conspiracies.

The Tsar Alexander was already sufficiently ill-pleased with the new despotism in France; his own ideal seems to have been that of popular government ruling by grace of a benevolent—and legitimate—autocrat who could impose his own will upon the people whenever he thought it would be for their own good. Pitt returned to office in England, having been driven into temporary retirement by the king's refusal to grant Catholic Emancipation, to which the minister had pledged himself as a corollary to the incorporation of the Irish parliament into that of the 'United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland' (1800). Pitt and Alexander exerted themselves to create a new coalition against Napoleon, which took shape in the summer of 1805, being joined by Austria, while Prussia stood aloof; the inefficiency of Prussian policy had not been affected by the succession of Frederick William III. on his father's death. We may here note that the Austrian emperor

1803.

Renewal of War.

2. Napoleon I., emperor, 1804.

The Third Coalition, 1805.

now styled himself 'Hereditary Emperor of Austria,' while Napoleon's title as Emperor of the French was acknowledged. The accession of Austria to the coalition was brought about when the republics of the western half of North Italy were annexed to France, and the eastern half suppressed itself as a republic and invited Napoleon to become its king.

Before the coalition declared war, Napoleon designed his great blow against Britain. The French and Spanish fleets were to effect a junction in the West Indies, enticing the main British fleet away. Then they were to return, and in conjunction with the fleet blockaded in Brest were to wipe out the Channel fleet, and so to secure the invasion of England. The Toulon fleet escaped, was pursued across the Atlantic by Nelson, evaded him, returned, was checked by a squadron off Finisterre, and withdrew to Cadiz, while Nelson was hurrying back. The scheme of invasion was completely wrecked.

By this time, Austria and Russia were progressing with their slow preparations, and Austria had pushed an army forward into Bavaria. Napoleon lost no moment after the failure of his invasion scheme had revealed itself. With extraordinary speed, the vast force destined for the British shores was hurled from the neighbourhood of Boulogne across Europe into Bavaria. The Austrian army was isolated and compelled to capitulate at Ulm on October 20th. The next day, Nelson caught the combined French and Spanish fleets off Trafalgar, where he annihilated them; at the price of the great sailor's life, Britain there won mastery of the seas so decisive that it has never again been challenged. The nightmare of invasion which had hung over England for two years and a half was finally dissipated.

But Napoleon never seems to have fully grasped the significance of the British sea-power. Publicly at least he made light of Trafalgar, which even in the eyes of the dying Pitt was overshadowed by the events that followed. Three weeks had hardly passed when the French were at Vienna. In another three weeks, the advancing Russians, joined by the second Austrian army which had not ventured to interpose between Ulm and Vienna, were decisively routed in one of

Napoleon's most brilliant victories at Austerlitz (Dec. 2nd). In the interval, Prussia had begun to think about taking action, but had preferred second thoughts. Before the end of the month, Russia had withdrawn in disgust, and Austria was submitting to have terms dictated to her at Presburg.

Those terms included the transfer to the 'Kingdom of Italy' of the Italian provinces which still remained to Austria after Lunéville, and the surrender of various outlying territories to the South German princes who had sided with Napoleon. The King of England's German Electorate of Hanover was presented to Prussia. Most of the German states outside of Austria and the Prussian dominion were soon after associated in the Confederation of the Rhine; but one group on the north-west was made into the kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's younger brother Jerome; Belgium and Holland were made a kingdom for Louis Bonaparte; while the Bourbons, on a flimsy pretext, were turned out of Naples, which was given to Joseph Bonaparte. In August the emperor finally dropped his title as Roman Emperor, and the Holy Roman Empire ended its thousand years of existence.

Negotiations between Napoleon and the new British ministry, rejected by the latter, opened Prussia's eyes to the fact that she was being made a cat's-paw. Too late, she turned on Napoleon, who promptly crushed her defiance at Jena (October), and made what was practically a triumphant march through the country. Frederick William took refuge with the Russians, against whom Napoleon was obliged to advance. A desperate but indecisive battle at Eylau in February was followed by a decisive victory at Friedland in June; and this was followed by a personal meeting between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit, when the two emperors came to an amicable agreement which meant that they were virtually to share the domination of Europe. Prussia lost some more territory, her share of Poland being transformed into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and handed over to Saxony. But Napoleon's grand object was to carry out his 'Continental System,' initiated by a decree issued from Berlin after Jena, by which the British were to be absolutely excluded from every European port; thus

A new Map of Europe.

British commerce was to be ruined and Britain herself was doomed to perish.

As a matter of fact, no sea-borne commerce being possible except in British ships, and all Europe having become largely dependent on goods procurable only from overseas, the Continental System would have been doomed to failure, even if Russia had not withdrawn from it and England had not secured a port of entry for herself through the action of Spain and Portugal. The British answered the treaty of Tilsit by seizing the Danish fleet after a bombardment of Copenhagen, although Britain and Denmark were not at war. Napoleon replied by requiring Portugal to join the Continental System. French troops marched on Portugal, when she protested; and Napoleon took the opportunity to bring about the abdication both of the King of Spain and his son, and to bestow the Spanish Crown on his own brother Joseph, whose kingdom of Naples was handed over to Murat, one of Napoleon's marshals. The Spanish people rose in arms against the usurpation, and the British resolved to support Spain and Portugal with all their military force. Thus began the Peninsular War.

The Con-
tinental
System,
1807.

1808,
Portugal and
Spain.

The rising in Spain was a spontaneous popular insurrection, without organisation, without an effective head; but for that very reason it was not to be suppressed. Spain was flooded with French troops, which could hardly help being victorious in the field, but wherever they were not present, the bands of insurgents were breaking in upon their communications. There was no fleet to stop British troops from entering Portugal, when Sir Arthur Wellesley, best known by his later title of Duke of Wellington, defeated the French commander and forced him to evacuate the country altogether. In the winter, the masterly operations of Sir John Moore prevented Napoleon from completing the subjugation of Southern Spain; and from that time, the Peninsula was left to the French marshals, for each of whom Wellington was fully a match, while their jealousies prevented their effective co-operation. For five years, the attempt to conquer Spain kept a quarter of a million French soldiers locked up in the

3. The Penin-
sular War.

Peninsula. Marshal Victor, Masséna, Marmont, tried their hands in turn against Wellington, only to be repulsed or to suffer complete rout, until the crushing blow was dealt to Jourdan at Vittoria in 1813. Throughout the whole period the Spanish regulars were of the least possible assistance to the British troops, whereas the irregulars carried on persistent guerilla warfare infinitely distracting and destructive to the French armies.

But the Spanish defiance did much more than to lock up quarter of a million of French soldiers. Hitherto Napoleon had waged war against kings; in Spain he was waging war against a people, and the example of Spain awoke the spirit of passionate patriotism in the hearts of the peoples of Europe. The idea of nationalism had hitherto been exceedingly subordinate in European politics. For the heterogeneous peoples which made up the Austrian state—Netherlanders, Germans, Magyars in Hungary, Czechs in Bohemia, Italians in Italy—no common idea of patriotism was possible. Territories were transferred from one power to another, as the outcome of wars or marriages, without any sort of consideration for differences of race, language, or customs. German princes sent their German subjects to fight shoulder to shoulder with the French against German armies. Italy was parcelled out among dynasties which might be anything so long as they were not Italian. The uprising of Spain kindled the sense of common nationality wherever common nationality existed in Europe, and bore fruit not only in the uprising of Germany against Napoleon, but in the liberation or unification of one after another of the nations of Europe during the nineteenth century.

In Prussia, intolerably humiliated after Jena, which it owed to the unpatriotic incompetence of the aristocratic class which dominated the government, the foundations of a new national life were laid by the political reforms of Stein and the military reorganisation of Scharnhorst, which gave every peasant and every citizen a consciousness of his own personal share in Prussia. But the time to strike had not yet arrived; before it came, the gospel of nationalism

The Awakening of Nationalism.

The Regeneration of Prussia.

was being spread and welcomed almost throughout Germany, not by the government but by the peoples themselves.

If Napoleon had concentrated his energies upon personally crushing Wellington, matters would probably have taken a different course. The British could hardly have poured enough troops into Portugal to make head against the emperor's armies, though the lines of Torres Vedras which baffled Masséna might well have baffled Masséna's master. But Napoleon never realised how difficult the task was which he left to his marshals, or how serious a strain on his resources the Peninsula was to be. Moreover, in 1809 he was engaged in another bout with Austria, which was decided by the battle of Wagram. Before the end of the year Austria had humiliated herself by bestowing a princess on the Corsican as a wife in place of his divorced Empress Josephine. The King of Sweden, who had remained almost alone in obstinate defiance, was deposed and replaced by Charles XIII., who nominated Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals, as his heir; and Bernadotte remained in Sweden as its effective ruler. Louis Bonaparte was not a sufficiently subservient ruler in Holland, so he was removed and his kingdom annexed to France, as the papal states in Italy had also been annexed. The princes of the Confederation of the Rhine were Napoleon's humble servants, Prussia was under his heel, and Austria dared not move against him. In Europe there remained only one power, Russia, which would not take orders from him; Alexander was growing distinctly hostile, and refusing to carry out the Continental System.

To drive the British out of the Peninsula would not annihilate Britain; but Napoleon clung to his belief that the perfected Continental System would have that effect, though she was the one country where commerce and manufactures continued to thrive in spite of war. Her exclusion from the Continent was more ruinous to the Continent than to her. Still, Napoleon counted that the one means of crushing this persistent enemy was to bend Russia to his will; and to this end he made vast preparations for a grand Russian campaign.

The army with which Napoleon entered Russia in June 1812

The
Wagram
Campaign.

Napoleon's
Supremacy,
1810.

4. Napoleon's
Fall.

numbered nearly 400,000 men in spite of the Peninsular War; for he was able to draw upon the subject or dependent states for contingents. The Russian generals retired before him, enticing him into the heart of Russia, where the provision of supplies was an eternally increasing difficulty. When Napoleon reached Smolensk, he found it in flames. At Borodino, the Russians stopped to fight him; he won the battle but at the cost of 30,000 men. He reached Moscow in September and found it deserted; but the city was fired over the heads of his soldiers. The Russians would not give battle; but whatever move he made they could hang on his flanks and cut off the supplies of the fast dwindling army. The road by which he had come was a desert. A retreat began; the grand army was already a wreck before, with terrific suddenness, a cruel winter set in and practically annihilated it.

This huge disaster gave Europe its opportunity. The Prussian people forced the Prussian government to rise and fling off the yoke. Russia came to Prussia's aid; Austria hung back at first; but in effect, Napoleon now had a more dangerous, because a whole-hearted, combination against him than ever before. Yet in spite of his frightful losses he succeeded again in bringing huge armies into the field, though at last in doing so he weakened the forces in Spain so that Wellington was able to drive them out of the Peninsula altogether. When Austria joined the coalition, Napoleon was still able to win a great victory at Dresden, but at Leipzig he was overwhelmed, and driven back into France. But for his unconquerable self-confidence he could still have obtained from the allies terms which would have left him France bounded by the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees; but these he would not accept. The allies invaded France; at length the emperor found that his marshals were unanimous in declaring that further resistance was madness. He submitted, and abdicated. The allies deported him to the island of Elba in the Mediterranean; and a European Congress proceeded to settle the affairs of Europe, and of France in particular.

The Moscow Campaign, 1812.

Napoleon at Bay, 1813.

1814,
Napoleon
exiled.

The Bourbon dynasty was recalled to France in the person of Louis XVIII. Broadly speaking, the diplomatists and monarchs proposed as nearly as possible to reconstitute the position as it had been before the French Revolution; France was to be the France of the French monarchy when it fell. In November, a congress of the five great powers—Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, and Great Britain—**A European Congress.** assembled at Vienna to complete the settlement on the old lines; a restoration of all the ruling families to their dominions, without regard to any sentiments of nationalism, or any of the principles from which the Revolution had started.

The settlement, however, was deferred. Conflicting interests were not easily reconciled, and quarrels among the powers themselves threatened. Napoleon, brooding in Elba, determined to strike one more blow for his lost dominion. He escaped from his island, landed on March 1st near Cannes, and appealed to the French nation's loyalty to its emperor. The appeal was successful. His progress towards Paris became a triumphal march, and the Bourbons took hasty flight. The powers stopped their quarrels, and agreed to make war on Napoleon till he was effectively extinguished. But coalitions move slowly, and Napoleon was swift and sudden. By the beginning of June his army was organised; while only the Prussians under Blücher and a heterogeneous force under Wellington were ready in Belgium to meet him.

Napoleon's object was the usual one—to split Blücher and Wellington, and to crush first one and then the other. He struck at the centre, and was so far successful that he defeated Blücher at Ligny and drove him to retreat—as Napoleon thought, on his base at Namur. Wellington beat off an attack at Quatre Bras on the same day, but being unable to effect the junction with Blücher, fell back on Waterloo to cover Brussels. On June 18th, Napoleon attacked him, having sent a column to take care of Blücher. But Blücher had retired not on Namur but on Wavre, in order to join Wellington at Waterloo, and the force sent in pursuit failed in its purpose. From a little before midday the

**5. The
Hundred
Days, 1815.**

**The
Waterloo
Campaign.**

THE EUROPEAN CONVULSION

battle raged, the British and Hanoverians stubbornly repelling the fierce onset. In the course of the afternoon the approach of the Prussians on the French right began to make itself felt. Finally Napoleon hurled the 'Old Guard' against the British; it was hurled back again, broken and shattered. Then at last the British line swept forward as Blücher crashed in on the French flank; Napoleon's army broke and fled. The exhausted British left the pursuit to the Prussians; but no rally was possible.

The allies marched on Paris. Napoleon threw himself on British generosity and surrendered to the captain of the *Bellerophon*; but generosity to Napoleon was fraught with too many dangers to Europe. The great conqueror was sent to end his days on the lonely rock of St. Helena, far away in the South Atlantic. The Revolution was over. The Napoleonic wars were over. Once again the monarchs set themselves to reconstruct Europe.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK VIII. 1789 TO 1815

GUIDING DATES

1789. Meeting of States-General . . . May.	1795. Third partition of Poland . . . Jan.
National Assembly.	Break-up of the Coalition . April-June
Fall of Bastille . June.	The Directory established . . . Oct.
End of Feudalism . Aug.	1796. Bonaparte in Italy, Lodi . . . May
1790. Leopold II., emperor Feb.	Arcola . . . } Accession of Paul I. in Russia . } Nov
1791. Death of Mirabeau March	1797. St. Vincent . . . Feb.
Flight to Varennes . June	Treaty of Campo Formio . . . Oct.
The Constitution . Sept.	1798. Bonaparte in Egypt June
Legislative Assembly Oct.	Battle of the Nile . Aug.
1792. France declares war April.	Second Coalition . Dec.
Francis II., emperor July	1799. Suvarov in Italy . April
September Massacres Sept.	Return of Bonaparte, who becomes First Consul . . . Oct.
National Convention Sept.	1800. Marengo . . . June
Conquest of Savoy and Belgium . Dec.	Hohenlinden . . . Dec.
1793. Louis XIV. beheaded } First coalition . } Jan. Second partition of Poland . } Committee of Public Safety . . . April	1801. Battle of Aboukir } Accession of Alexander I. . } March
Fall of Girondists. } Reign of Terror begins . } June	Battle of the Baltic . April
1794. Robespierresupreme April	1802. Peace of Amiens . March
Thermidorean Reaction . . . July	

1803. War with England renewed . . .	May	1808. Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain.	
1804. Code Napoléon issued . . .	} March	Spanish rising . . .	June
Murder of Duc d'Enghien . . .		Peninsular War begins	Aug.
Napoleon I., emperor	May	1809. Wagram Campaign	
1805. Third Coalition . . .	April	Talavera . . .	
Ulm and Trafalgar . . .	Oct.	1810. Marriage of Napoleon . . .	March
Austerlitz . . .	} Dec.	1811. Battles in the Peninsula . . .	
Treaty of Presburg		1812. Salamanca . . .	July
1806. Confederation of Rhine . . .	July	The Moscow Campaign . . .	July-Dec.
End of Holy Roman Empire . . .	Aug.	1813. Battle of Vittoria . . .	June
Jena . . .	Oct.	Battle of Leipzig . . .	Oct.
Continental System . . .	Nov.	1814. Napoleon sent to Elba . . .	April
1807. Tilsit . . .	July	1815. Return of Napoleon	March
Stein in Prussia . . .		Waterloo Campaign	June

LEADING NAMES

Louis XVI. — Mirabeau — Leopold II. — Francis II. — Frederick William II. — Danton — Robespierre — Carnot — Frederick William III. — Napoleon Bonaparte — Moreau — Nelson — Suvarov — Paul I. — William Pitt — Alexander I. — Joseph Bonaparte — Stein — Wellington — Blücher.

NOTES

India. Indian history has now become practically that of the gradual expansion of British ascendancy, till the East India Company is recognised as the sovereign of India in place of the Mogul. The process, however, was not one of aggressive conquest. The actual British dominion, under British government, was only a small portion of the Peninsula in 1790. There were sundry native princes, viceroys, and confederacies, each of whom controlled larger territories than the British. Each regarded every other power, but the British most of all, as an aggressive rival in competition for supremacy. Lord Wellesley, Wellington's elder brother, was the only governor-general who sought to acquire territory; though whenever war was forced on the British, the aggressor inevitably had to cede territory when the war ended. Wellesley's method was, to extend to native states

the military protection of forces in British pay under British officers, territory being ceded by the protected state in order to meet the cost. Hence British territory was considerably extended before 1815, while the protected states were also under British control, though not under direct British government.

The Industrial Revolution. A series of mechanical inventions and discoveries, chiefly made in Great Britain during the latter part of the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth century, were destined entirely to revolutionise the processes of manufacture in all countries, though Great Britain was the first to profit by them. First, machinery worked by hand enabled one worker to produce a very much larger amount of work in a given time. Then machinery driven by water-power multiplied production; and then machinery driven by steam-power displaced that driven by water-power. Where machinery was set up, workers congregated; and thus great manufacturing towns came into being. Great Britain obtained a tremendous lead over the rest of the world, partly from natural advantages, partly because her soil alone was not devastated by the Napoleonic wars; while, as we have seen, Napoleon's continental system presented her with the whole sea-borne trade of Europe.

The End of Feudalism. At the close of the Middle Ages, Feudalism ceased to be the basis of military organisation. The essence of feudalism is the exchange of service for protection; that of the modern community is the exchange of service for wages, the state being responsible for protection. Modern military organisation began when the state paid its troops instead of depending on feudal levies. But feudalism all over Europe established a hereditary distinction between the protecting class who owned the land and the class who rendered them service. The claim to service was maintained while the claim for protection lapsed. The strong continued to hold their privileges. Politically, feudalism yielded to absolutism; that is, the central governments were able to control the great feudatories; but the subordinate classes were still not admitted to political rights. Socially, feudalism remained, that is, the class distinctions and the privileges of the hereditary landowners were scarcely abated, except in the British isles; where, in England at least, the classes merged in each other without the sharp dividing lines of continental Europe. The French Revolution destroyed hereditary divisions and hereditary privileges in France, and greatly weakened them throughout Europe; they still survived with modifications, but they ceased to be regarded as fundamental laws on which the existence of social order depended.

BOOK IX
THE MODERN NATIONS

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EUROPEAN POWERS FROM 1815 TO 1871

THE Congress of Vienna, having for its guiding spirits the Austrian Metternich and the Frenchman Talleyrand, rearranged the map of Europe. The French border was nearly that of 1789. In Italy, Austria had Lombardy and Venetia; the Bourbons were restored in Naples. Sardinia recovered Savoy. The German Empire had ceased to exist, but the German states were formed into a very loose confederation under Austrian presidency. Napoleon's Grand Duchy of Warsaw was not returned to Prussia but was transferred as the Kingdom of Poland to Alexander of Russia. Prussia by way of compensation got half Saxony and a group of Rhine provinces which brought her borders in direct contact with France. Hanover became a kingdom, as yet attached to the British Crown. The Crown of Holland and Belgium together was bestowed on the house of Orange.

Only this much was left of the Revolution, that Louis XVIII. was required to grant a charter of liberties in France providing some share in the government to the people more or less after the British model; sundry minor German states followed suit, and Alexander gave a charter to Poland. But no corresponding move was made, in spite of vague declarations, in Prussia, Austria, or Russia; and the charters were all treated as Acts of Grace on the part of the Crown, revocable by the Crown if the people proved ungrateful. It was the divine right of kings to rule, and their pious duty to rule beneficently; but the people were not to be permitted to question their decrees. These in effect were the principles of

the Holy Alliance—an agreement entered upon by the Tsar, the Emperor, and the King of Prussia—principles which they preferred to enforce in dominions other than their own. At the same time, the principles of nationalism were totally ignored in Italy, in the union of Belgium and Holland, and in the Austrian Empire, which was part German, part Magyar, part Slav, and part Italian.

There are then two political movements at work in Europe in the half-century following Waterloo. One, the birth of the French Revolution, is the popular demand for the expression at least of the popular voice in the government. The other is the nationalism which had been quickened by the Napoleonic wars; a demand in part for national independence of alien control, in part for the unification of broken-up and divided nationalities. The two movements are found working simultaneously in some regions; but there is no law of association between them. Italy in her struggle for liberation and unity succeeds not under republican leadership but under the constitutional monarchists. German unity is achieved by statesmen who have no popular leanings. But in 1871, fifty-six years after Napoleon's sun had set, when the later Napoleon's sun had set also, Germany was at last a consolidated empire, Italy was a consolidated and constitutional kingdom, Greece and Belgium were constitutional kingdoms, and the release of the Slavonic states of the Turkish Empire from Mohammedan control was in the near future; while in Great Britain the balance of political power had passed first from the landowning class to the manufacturers, and then from the manufacturers to the 'working'-classes. The only countries in Europe where unqualified despotism survived were Russia and Turkey.

At the outset, it appeared that the victory was to be with absolutism. In Spain, Ferdinand VII. was no sooner restored than he cancelled his promises and ruled despotically. Austria followed the same line in Lombardy; the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, the King of Naples, and the masters of the independent duchies in the north of Italy, took their cue from Austria. In England, the Tory government adopted severe measures for the repression of all expression of

popular discontent. In France, Louis XVIII. resisted the pressure of the ultra-royalists, and maintained what might be called a constitutional system; but here too the reactionary party, headed by the king's brother and heir, obtained the ascendancy from 1821 onwards. In Spain, however, discontent reached such a pitch that a popular revolt in 1820 led to the compulsory acceptance by the king of the constitution which had been formulated in 1812 during the Peninsular War. This 'constitution of 1812' became the watchword of the revolutionists who were at the same time rising in Naples, in other parts of Italy, and in Sicily. The Holy Alliance was brought to bear on these disturbances, Great Britain and France not being prepared to intervene actively. France indeed joined with the Holy Alliance; and in Spain, Portugal, and Italy popular resistance was crushed and absolutism restored.

The death of Louis XVIII. placed his brother on the French throne as Charles X. in 1824, and the government became persistently reactionary. But the effect was not unlike that of the accession of James II. in England in 1685. The sober constitutionalists combined to effect an almost bloodless revolution in July 1830; the king was forced to abdicate, and his cousin Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was raised to the throne as a constitutional king, Charles with his son and grandson retreating to exile in England. This was the first definitely successful revolt against the reaction.

2. Resistance
to the
Reaction.

France.

At the same time, nationalism won its first victory. The system of government in the Turkish Empire was of the oriental, not the western type. The sultans were very much in the hands of the troops called Janissaries, the provinces were left to the provincial governors, and Egypt under Mehemet Ali paid very little attention to the sovereign at Constantinople. It was, however, primarily the Christian populations, subjected to Mohammedan rulers, which suffered from serious oppression. A rising which began in Moldavia, in 1820, was followed by a general insurrection in the Morea, the southern peninsula of Greece, and in the islands of the Ægean. In spite of strong sympathy in Russia and in England,

Greek
Independ-
ence.

the Greeks were left without European support, other than that of volunteers such as Lord Byron. They held their own, though it seemed certain that they must succumb to the Turks reinforced by a fleet and army from Egypt. The deciding factor in the situation was the accession of Nicholas I. as Russian Tsar. Russian policy was thenceforth guided exclusively by Russian interests. In spite of Metternich, Russia, Great Britain, and France came to an agreement to force concessions upon the sultan—a process which immediately involved their sinking the Egyptian fleet at the battle of Navarino. Ultimately, after a war in which Russia was left to act by herself, Turkey was compelled to allow Greece to become an independent constitutional monarchy under the young Prince Otho of Bavaria.

The 'July Revolution' in France was immediately followed by the revolt of Belgium against Dutch domination, and of Poland against the Russian supremacy; while the peaceful manner in which it had been carried out helped very materially in the passage in England of the Reform Act which reconstructed the House of Commons. Both in France and in England the effect was to make the manufacturers and the middle classes the controlling power.

In Belgium the clericals were united to the liberals, because of the antagonism between Belgian Catholicism and Dutch Calvinism. The intervention of the powers brought about the separation of the two kingdoms, the Belgian Crown being bestowed on Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, uncle of the Princess Victoria, who four years later became Queen of England. It may be noted in passing that, as the Crown of Hanover could not pass to a female, its union with that of Great Britain was then brought to an end, and the way prepared for its ultimate incorporation with Prussia. The Polish insurrection exemplified the fatal incapacity of the Poles for acting in unison; in spite of heroic resistance it was ruthlessly stamped out, and Poland was turned into a province of the Russian Empire.

Meanwhile, the Spanish dominions in Central and South America had broken away from Spain, and Brazil had become separated from Portugal as an empire under the Portuguese

king's eldest son, Pedro, who could not hold the Crowns in conjunction. When King John died, Pedro claimed the Portuguese succession for his daughter Maria, who was opposed by his brother Miguel. Ultimately, by the active assistance of Britain and with French support, the Crown was secured to Maria, who married Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, brother of the King of the Belgians. Miguel, successful at the outset, had ruled with brutal despotism, and Maria's cause and her victory were made the cause and the victory of constitutional principles. In Spain the death of Ferdinand in 1833 led to a struggle for the succession between his brother Don Carlos and his widow Christina, representing their infant daughter Isabella. Here also the cause of the female succession was identified with that of constitutionalism and was ultimately successful; though in the long-run constitutionalism did not profit by it.

Once more, the revolutionary movement was to be roused by France. The 'Orleanist' rule of Louis Philippe was a very different thing from that of Charles x., but it was by no means satisfactory to the bulk of the French nation. Wealth had become the real source of political power; the conflict between capital and labour was growing more acute, and the labouring classes looked to political power as the means to their victory in that conflict. The sheer feebleness of the government led to its easy overthrow in February 1848: the royal family retired into exile, and for the second time a French Republic was proclaimed. The new Republican government did not realise the hopes of the Socialists—the name now being applied to those who held that the sources and the control of production should be in the hands not of private persons, but of the state or community; but the revolution set an example to Europe which was soon plunged in a general ferment. This year, 1848, is known as the Year of Revolutions.

In every German state there arose a clamour for constitutional reform so sudden and so unanimous that the princes in general were compelled to give way to it, and everywhere new constitutions were promulgated before March was over. Even at Vienna and in the four kingdoms of Prussia,

Spain and
Portugal.

3. The Year
of Revolu-
tions.

France.

Germany.

Hanover, Saxony, and Bavaria, the rulers were forced to grant or to promise the popular demands. Nevertheless, before the end of the year the tables had been turned both in Austria and in Prussia, and the monarchists were in the ascendent. But if the popular movement met with a partial success, the attendant movement for German unity collapsed completely. An assembly of deputies from all German states was called at Frankfort which appointed an administration and set about formulating a German constitution. But there was utter disagreement between the democrats, the reactionaries, and the constitutional theorists, and between those who wanted to include Austria and those who wanted Prussia to be the head and to exclude Austria. The final result was the collapse of the entire movement, accompanied in Austria by the revocation of the recently granted constitution.

In every other quarter the movement, nationalist or democratic or a mixture of the two, broke down, after some initial success. Hungary, roused by the eloquence of **The Austrian Empire.** Kossuth, demanded independence; Bohemia demanded self-government. But there was antagonism instead of co-operation between the two. Austrian troops were able almost at once to secure Prague, the Bohemian centre, and the defiance of Hungary was crushed with aid from the Tsar. Hungary was deprived of the degree of self-government which had been granted before the insurrection.

In Italy, Pius ix., who became pope in 1846, had at first acquired immense popularity by his liberal attitude. The

Italy. February Revolution and the first disturbance

at Vienna kindled the spark in Italy; in one city after another the populace rose against the Austrian Dominion, and Charles Albert, the Sardinian king, declared war on Austria. But the skill of the Austrian general, Radetzky, triumphed; the pope took alarm, when he found himself threatened with an Austrian war, and deserted the popular cause; and the Austrians not only forced a humiliating peace on Victor Emmanuel, in whose favour Charles Albert abdicated, but also, besides crushing revolt in her own provinces with an iron hand, gave her aid in stamping out the revolutionary movements in the rest of Italy.

In France itself the Republic was destined to a very brief life. The moderates—that is, the middle-class section—captured the government, and intended to model the new constitution after that of the United States of America, giving executive control to an elected president and legislative control to elected assemblies. But Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great emperor, procured his election to the Presidency. He aimed successfully at obtaining the support of the peasantry and the working-classes. Following the precedents set by his uncle, he secured his re-election to the Presidency by a *coup d'état* confirmed by a *plébiscite* in 1852, and twelve months later was proclaimed Emperor of the French as Napoleon III. on the theory that there had been a legitimate Napoleon II., who never actually succeeded. France reappeared as a military empire, whose ruler was in the nature of the case obliged to pose as the arbiter of Europe, and to win military glory.

This opportunity soon came. Oppression of Christians in the Turkish Empire was used by the Tsar as an excuse for intervention; France claimed that the protection of the Latin-Church Christians lay with her; Great Britain for the last twenty years had been watching Russian aggression in the East with alarm. So France and England supported Turkey and declared war in 1854 when hostilities had begun between the eastern powers; while Prussia and Austria, though sympathising, cheerfully left them to do the fighting. The allies invaded the Crimea, and captured Sebastopol after a long siege and a winter in which their troops suffered frightful hardships. The Peace of Paris in 1856 neutralised the Black Sea and forbade Russia to keep more than six warships on it. The terms of the peace were agreed upon by a general conference of the Powers. The principle that the voice of Europe at large as well as that of the belligerents should be taken into account in settling terms of peace was beginning to become established.

The Crimean War.

Napoleon had won considerable credit from the war: the next field of his activities was to be in Italy. Here the success of Austria in 1849 had only intensified Italian antagonism to the

existing order. The passionate sentiment of patriotism inspired by the pen of Mazzini and the sword of Garibaldi was now to be guided by the politic brain of Cavour, whom the shrewd King of Sardinia had taken for his chief minister. Cavour directed his policy to obtaining European support for his schemes of Italian emancipation; and this he knew would not be available if emancipation were associated with republicanism. The victory could be won only under the banner of Victor Emmanuel and constitutional monarchy. For the sake of French and British support, Sardinia took part in the Crimean War, and in the congress which concluded it; and Cavour took the opportunity to enlist French and British sympathies.

The outcome was a compact under which France was to help Sardinia to acquire Venetia and Lombardy from Austria, herself receiving Savoy and Nice. Austria injudiciously adopted the aggressive tone which served to warrant French intervention when the refusal of the demands she made on Sardinia was followed up by an Austrian invasion of Piedmont. France and Sardinia at once joined forces, and the campaign was decided in favour of the allies by the battles of Magenta and Solferino. Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Bologna all ejected their rulers and offered themselves to Victor Emmanuel. Austria, however, was not yet beaten to her knees; and Napoleon, who considered that he had done enough for glory and might go further and fare worse, deserted his ally. He made a provisional treaty with the Austrians at Villafranca, by which Sardinia was to gain most of Lombardy but nothing more. Cavour was so indignant at the king's acceptance of the terms that he resigned. The

1859. The Kingdom of North Italy. Duchies and Bologna refused to take back their rulers, and by *plébiscite* voted solidly for their union with the Sardinian kingdom. Cavour was reconciled with the king and returned to office; Napoleon, as the price of his support, procured the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. Naples (under its Bourbon ruler Francis, who had recently succeeded the notorious Ferdinand, known as 'Bomba'), the papal states shorn of Bologna, and Venetia which

remained to Austria, still stood outside what was now the Sardinian kingdom of Northern Italy. Savoy, though it was the ancestral domain of the Sardinian dynasty, was not in fact Italian.

To this kingdom, the audacious enterprise of the great guerilla leader Garibaldi added Naples and much of the remaining papal territory. On his own responsibility he raised an enthusiastic band of volunteers known as the **Garibaldi in Sicily.**

'Thousand,' and flung himself into Sicily, always on the verge of revolt against the Bourbon rule. In six weeks he was master of the island, and two months later he was conducting what was practically a triumphal march through Southern Italy upon Naples, where he was hailed as Liberator. Cavour would have had no excuse for taking part in this exploit, if the pope had not provided it by preparing to attempt the recovery of Bologna. The North Italian troops were thus warranted in entering the papal states; while the plain facts justified Victor Emmanuel in announcing that the annexation of the two Sicilies alone could prevent the establishment of an independent Neapolitan Republic, which seemed the most probable outcome of Garibaldi's triumphs.

Europe on the one hand and Garibaldi on the other recognised the logic of facts. As the king **First King of Italy.**

advanced into Neapolitan territory, Garibaldi met him and greeted him as King of Italy. Rome itself, and Venetia, were all that still remained outside the Italian kingdom, whose first united parliament met in February 1861. Cavour lived just long enough to see the realisation of his hopes. The acquisition of Venetia still had to await the war between Prussia and Austria which gave it to Italy as Prussia's ally; that of Rome was deferred till the war between Prussia and France withdrew the French support from the papacy.

While the cause of Nationalism was being fought out in Italy, Prussia was falling under the control of the king, William I., and the minister, Otto von Bismarck, who were to make her the head of a new united German Empire. To **5. Bismarck.** secure this leadership was Bismarck's primary aim; to that end, a supreme army was necessary; and he did not hesitate to urge the king to override the Prussian parliament and assume

what was virtually absolute authority, in order to obtain the needed military forces and reforms. The organisation, in the hands of Albert von Roon and Moltke, rapidly made the Prussian army into the most perfect of military machines. A contest for the leadership of Germany between Austria and Prussia was approaching; the victory of Prussia must mean the exclusion of Austria from any union of which she was head. It was Bismarck's aim to bring the rivalry to an issue at the moment most favourable for Prussia.

The opening came when the death of the King of Denmark revived disputed questions as to the succession to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein which were attached to the Danish Crown. The title of the new king, Christian, to them could be challenged. Prussia and Austria occupied the duchies after some fighting with the Danes, as representing the claims of the German Confederation. By a convention at Gastein between the two powers the administration of Schleswig was assigned to Prussia and that of Holstein to Austria. Bismarck on the one hand procured an alliance with Italy which was to be rewarded with Venetia, and on the other he beguiled Napoleon into neutrality—by allowing him first to expect the cession of the Rhine provinces, and secondly to believe that Prussia would have to appeal to France to save her from destruction. Meanwhile Austria was being led on to formal transgressions of subsisting rights, and the moment arrived for Prussia to deal the decisive blow.

Consummate organisation and perfect readiness for action brought what is known as the Seven Weeks' War to a very rapid conclusion. The Italians indeed met with nothing but reverses; but the Prussians had inflicted a quite decisive defeat on the Austrians at Königgrätz or Sadowa in less than three weeks after the hostilities began. The terms of peace gave Prussia all she required, and Bismarck even had to exert himself to prevent them from being unduly humiliating to Austria. The states of the German Confederation which had taken up arms in Austria's quarrel had been simultaneously and successfully occupied by the Prussians. The treaty which ended the war weakened Saxony, and handed over

THE EUROPEAN POWERS FROM 1815 TO 1871

Hanover and Hesse as well as Schleswig and Holstein to the victors.

A North German Federation comprising all the northern states was at once established, with the King of Prussia as hereditary president. Questions of peace and war and the military control were left to Prussia. The old confederation was abolished, Austria was withdrawn from all direct connection with the German states, and the southern states, without being admitted to the new Federation, were associated with it for military purposes. A Zollverein or Customs Union had for some time past helped to develop the sense of a unity of interests. Italy was rewarded by the cession to her of Venetia.

But the work of German unification was not yet finished. France was hankering after the Rhine provinces—Napoleon had expected to obtain them as the price of intervention for the salvation of Prussia. The emperor had been losing ground in the country. He had been ignored in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, and by Russia in her merciless repression of Poland's last revolt. He had blundered conspicuously over the Seven Weeks' War, and not less so in an attempt to restore an empire in Mexico, which had turned itself into a republic. Sooner or later, to protect himself and his dynasty, he would be forced to make war on Prussia; and, as with Austria, so with France, Bismarck meant the inevitable duel to be fought at his own time, and with plausible grounds for declaring that France was the aggressor.

Spain provided the Prussian minister with his opportunity, when he was satisfied that he had brought the German military organisation up to the Prussian standard. The rule of Queen Isabella was disastrous, utterly bad without a redeeming feature. A revolution drove her from the country, and Spain wanted a king; but she wanted none of the claimants who desired the crown, which was declined by more than one prince to whom it was offered. The Spanish selection of a far from zealous candidate, who belonged to the house of Hohenzollern, the royal house of Prussia, was resented by

Napoleon as a Prussian intrigue; the negotiations on the subject between France and Prussia were easily given a turn which roused furious indignation throughout the French and German nations, and on July 19th war was declared. In numbers, in discipline, in armament, in generalship, the Germans, who answered solidly to the call of Prussia, proved immeasurably superior. The French fought with desperate valour. Within a month a series of desperate engagements, culminating in the slaughter at Gravelotte where thirty thousand men fell—more Germans than French—had been fought, with practically invariable success for the Germans. A great French army was shut up in Metz under Bazaine. A fortnight later the emperor with another great army was defeated at Sedan, and compelled to capitulate, Napoleon himself surrendering. Paris proclaimed the empire at an end, and set up a republican government of national defence. Before the end of September Paris was invested; in October the German forces before Metz were released by the surrender of Bazaine with 150,000 men. A desperate resistance was organised in the provinces, but it was overwhelmed by the German troops, while Paris was starved almost to the last gasp, and was finally subjected to a tremendous bombardment. In January negotiations were opened which ended in the capitulation of Paris, and the transfer to Prussia of Alsace and Lorraine, while France was saddled with the payment of a huge indemnity.

The war, by withdrawing Napoleon's protection from the pope, gave Victor Emmanuel his opportunity of incorporating Rome in the Italian kingdom, and making it his capital. It made France a republic for the third time, and a republic she has remained ever since, though the stability of her government has more than once been threatened. But its most significant outcome was the establishment of the new German Empire with the King of Prussia as hereditary emperor. The southern states, excluded from the North German Federation, were included in the new empire. Each state remains in many respects self-governing, but for purposes of war, foreign policy, and commerce, the whole is under the

1870.
Franco-
Prussian
War.

The New
German
Empire.

direction of the Imperial government which is practically controlled by Prussia. The Austrian Empire remains outside. Austria being cut off from its old position as a state in the German Empire, the Austrian emperor of necessity made it his aim to render the government of his own empire more harmonious, by granting Hungary her own separate diet and administration for the conduct of Hungarian affairs.

CHAPTER XXVIII

AMERICA, AUSTRALASIA, AFRICA, AND ASIA TO 1871

WE have now to turn our attention to the regions outside Europe, and first to those which, having been under European control, severed themselves politically from the domination of the Old World.

A detailed account of the establishment of the various states of South and Central America will be unnecessary. With the exception of Guiana and British Honduras, the whole of this region at the opening of the nineteenth century was under the supremacy either of Spain or of Portugal. The populations consisted in part of pure Spaniards or Portuguese, but the great bulk of them were either of actual native descent, or of mixed blood, the government being entirely European. The example of the North American British colonies, followed by the Revolution in France, awoke revolutionary and democratic ideas; but the effective impulse to separation from Europe was given by the overturn of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies by Napoleon I. The Portuguese royal family itself took refuge in Brazil; the restoration after Waterloo threatened to make Portugal into an outlying province of a state which had been its own great colony; and it was rather Portugal which separated itself from the Brazilian Empire than Brazil which cut itself loose from Portugal.

In the Spanish provinces revolution was encouraged by the uncertainty as to where true authority was to be found when the people of Spain were defying the Bonaparte monarchy. The restoration of the Bourbon king Ferdinand, with the absolutist

reaction, did not mend matters, and there was a long period of struggle between Republicans and Royalists from one end of the continent to the other; which ended in the ejection of the royalists, and the establishment of various republics controlled by military dictators which combined and dissolved their combinations in a very bewildering fashion. Ultimately the whole of Spanish South America took shape as nine independent republics; in which it still appeared for a long time that every president or virtual dictator held his position so long as he could escape assassination and crush rivals, but no longer. Stable governments, however, at last succeeded, and the way was prepared for a great development of South American wealth and commerce. A similar process took place in Central America and in Mexico.

When the British Empire was torn in two by the war of American Independence, the new nation which emerged consisted only of the thirteen British colonies which occupied the sea-board between Nova Scotia and Florida. They, like the French revolutionists, had before them the task of inventing a constitution, which should at once satisfy the demand of each separate member of the United States for self-government, and provide a central government which could enforce what would be to the common advantage as against the selfish claims of individual states. Under the constitution devised, each state had its own separate legislature and administration, while there was a central or federal legislature and administration in which all shared. The federal administration was completely controlled by a president elected for a term of four years.

The lands to the westward, beyond the borders of the existing states, were under the control of the federal government. As these lands were occupied by new settlers pushing westwards, they were formed into new states, and added to the number of the original thirteen, with state governments on the same model. Thus the United States gradually expanded westwards till the Pacific was reached, the appropriation of Texas involving a war with Mexico in 1847. The war also secured California to the United States, and about the

South
American
Republics.

2. The
United
States.

The
Constitution.

Expansion.

same time the northern boundary between them and British North America—all of which was subsequently included in the Dominion of Canada—was fixed by treaty.

The expansion accentuated the important problem of slavery. The leading constitutional difficulty of the new nation was that of reconciling state rights and federal rights. On North and South. two questions the interests of the northern group of states clashed with those of the southern group. The wealth of the south lay in its plantations, notably cotton and tobacco, which were worked by slave labour. In the north there was no demand for slave labour, and wealth was produced by agriculture and manufactures. The manufacturers of the north, faced by the competition of Europe, sought to keep out the competition by high tariffs on imports. The south having no competition to face objected to high tariffs as raising the price of the goods which the southerners wanted to purchase. The south, depending on slave labour, found scriptural warrant for the institution of slavery. The north, not depending on slave labour, perceived that the institution of slavery was immoral and ought to be abolished, or at least forbidden where it was not already established, as where new states were recognised. As the north tended to become predominant in the federal government, the south became increasingly insistent on state rights, and increasingly opposed to federal imposition of tariffs and federal interference with slavery.

The point was at last reached when the southern states declared their right to secede from the union, and the northern states declared that secession was rebellion. The Civil War. The American right of withdrawing from a union of states is the characteristic distinction of what is called a Confederation from what is called a Federation. The southerners claimed that the union was only a Confederation, and so were called Confederates; the northerners, for the corresponding reason, were called Federals. To admit the right of secession would at once have split the new nation into two antagonistic nations, and would have left both in the future without any security for permanence.

The war was waged with all the bitterness which generally marks civil broils. At the outset the southerners proved themselves superior in military skill, but the strength of numbers lay with the north. Capable leaders came to the front as the fight went stubbornly on—the north directed by the great President Abraham Lincoln. At last the tide turned in favour of the north, with which in the end the victory lay decisively. The cause of union had won, and with it the cause of slave emancipation. The great negro-slave population received freedom, though the race-antagonism between the black and the white citizens of the United States became no less acute than the antagonism between black slaves and white masters.

Great Britain's severance from the thirteen colonies did not destroy her colonial power; it did not even cut her off from America. Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and 3. The British Canada held to the British connection. Many Empire. loyalists emigrated from the new American republic into Canada, so as to remain under the British flag. Thus in course of time friction developed between the old French population and the increasing numbers of Canada. the British, and between both and the home government which continued to control the administration. A revolt in 1837 led to a reorganisation of the whole system. Canada had been divided into two; the two parts now became self-governing provinces of one colonial state, something like the separate states of the American union. In 1840 the mother country was waking up to the fact that great colonies with a future of expansion before them might well claim for themselves the constitutional liberties which English and Scots had won at home a century and a half before—the 'Responsible' Government, which means that the will of the elected legislative assemblies controls the appointment and the dismissal of the administrative officers. From that time the principle has prevailed of granting to every British colony 'responsible' government as soon as it has a population sufficiently advanced and sufficiently organised to conduct the management of its own affairs. As with the United States the lands westward to the

Pacific were gradually occupied by British settlers; and the whole of British North America with the exception of the island of Newfoundland was ultimately incorporated in the dominion of Canada.

Bereft of half North America, the British Empire almost unconsciously expanded into a new continent. Although for centuries Portuguese and Dutch had occupied lands in the great eastern Archipelago, Australia remained unexplored and unoccupied until Captain Cook visited it in 1770. Eighteen years later it was annexed by Great Britain, and the first British settlement was planted on its shores. The primary object was to find a new region for the deportation of criminals who were no longer wanted for forced labour in British colonies. The new territory was in part taken up by settlers other than the convicts sent to penal settlements. By slow degrees they spread, and New South Wales was organised as a colony. No material resistance was offered by the nomadic native races, an exceptionally undeveloped type of humanity. Emigrants from home increased in numbers, more of the continent was taken up, and separate colonies under separate governments were established, including the comparatively remote islands of New Zealand. The movement towards self-government already noticed in Canada was brought to bear also in Australasia; and an immense impulse was given to immigration, and to the development of manufactures, to meet the needs of the growing population, by the discovery of gold-fields.

The northern sea-board of Africa on the Mediterranean had been included in the civilised world ever since the days of Carthage. To Europeans the rest of the continent was unknown till the voyages of the Portuguese led to the establishment of trading settlements at points on the coast. There was no penetrating inland. Only the Dutch discovered at the southern extremity a land and a climate where they could settle and remain from generation to generation. Arabs took possession of the east coast, and south of them the Portuguese retained a foothold; practically the whole interior was occupied by negro tribes which occasionally developed

remarkable powers of military organisation, but otherwise seemed to be incapable of progress.

The Napoleonic wars transferred the Dutch colony to the British. The transfer was confirmed, for cash, when William of Orange became King of Holland at the European restoration. Twenty years later, a large portion of the Dutch population, half ruined by the abolition of slavery and wholly disgusted at what they looked upon as the very dangerous restraints imposed on them in their dealings with the warlike negro tribes across the border, withdrew inland out of reach of the British government, and were ultimately allowed or encouraged to set up two independent republics, beyond the Orange River, and beyond the Vaal. But still, only a very few adventurous travellers, inspired either by missionary zeal or by a passion for exploration, had penetrated at all into the vast interior regions. Africa was still emphatically the 'Dark Continent.'

In Asia two European powers were steadily advancing. The devastation wrought by the marauding bands of the Pindaris in Central India, encouraged by Mahratta princes, brought on a war which broke up the power of the Mahratta states, and added largely to the British territory. India.

An ill-omened expedition to Afghanistan with the object of establishing there a dynasty which would resist Russian progress ended in disaster only partially retrieved by the victories of a punitive expedition which followed. The Sikh state in the Punjab was encouraged to attack the British, and two wars following each other with a brief interval ended with the annexation of the Punjab to British India in 1849. A rare act of deliberate British aggression had just before brought Sindh, the territory of the Lower Indus, into the British region; and immediately afterwards the outrageous conduct of the King of Burmah made necessary the annexation of a great part of his kingdom, on the east of the bay of Bengal. In 1857 the outbreak of a tremendous mutiny which spread over nearly all the native troops in Northern India, but especially on the Ganges basin, endangered the British rule. In six months, however, the back of the revolt was broken, and in twelve months the mutineer forces were practi-

cally crushed. The immediate outcome was the disappearance of the East India Company, and the transfer of the government of India to the British Crown. Since that time there has been no war within India, though there has been plenty of fighting on and beyond the border. A third of the whole area remains under the government of native princes owning the British sovereignty.

The other European power which advanced was Russia, under whose sway the central Asian districts passed as she moved forward step by step—her movements anxiously watched by some statesmen in London and most statesmen in India. British diplomacy permitted her to acquire an ever-increasing influence in Persia, a power which in itself was dangerous only because the Persian Shah is in the eyes of many Mohammedans the head of Islam, and a substantial portion of the Indian population is Mohammedan. But to Russia with designs upon India, a subservient Persia might prove extremely useful.

But in the far east of Asia there are two nations, China and Japan, with histories dating in one case from a period before Europe had any history and in the other from an earlier period than any existing European state. With neither had Europe come sufficiently in contact to affect her history till the nineteenth century opened. Before it closed, both, though in very different ways, were becoming profoundly important.

The Chinese belong definitely to the Mongolian group of peoples in which we are accustomed to include the non-Aryan tribes which have invaded Europe during the Christian era, the Turks, the Mongols proper who followed Genghis Khan, and the Manchus, the stock to which belongs the dynasty now reigning in China. Historical records compiled certainly before the sixth century B.C. carry a tolerably authentic history back to 2000 years earlier, before Hammurabi ruled in Babylon, about the era of the first Sargon. The Chinese had a highly organised political system and an advanced civilisation before Rome was founded; they had invented the art of writing when, in the sixth century B.C., the mystical religion

called Taoism was taught by Lao-Tse, and a philosophy of material common sense was formulated by Confucius, who might also be called the father of Chinese history. Four hundred years later Buddhism found its way among them. They had invented printing five hundred years before the art was discovered in Europe. In the thirteenth century A.D. China was overrun by the Mongols, and the Mongol dynasty of Khublai Khan was established, of whose splendours the Venetian traveller Marco Polo brought his own report to Europe. A century later the Mongol dynasty had been ejected by Chinese rulers, but in the seventeenth century the barbarian Manchus conquered their civilised neighbours and established the still reigning Manchu dynasty. It was at about the same time that the European traders in the east first brought tea from China to Europe.

But the Chinese government did not encourage intercourse with foreigners, whether missionaries or traders; and attempts to exclude British trade brought about the first war between China and a European power in 1840. Its conclusion opened certain ports to British trade, and Hong-Kong was ceded to the same power, under the treaty of Nanking. A few years later there broke out in China a great semi-religious insurrection known as the Taiping rebellion, which was still in full swing when the government again made it necessary for the British to go to war with them, this time with French support. The victories of the allies and their entry into Peking procured a further treaty, giving extended trading rights to the Europeans; and the Taiping rebellion was shortly afterwards brought to an end with the aid of British officers.

Trustworthy Japanese history goes back no further than the seventh century of our era, when a Japanese empire was certainly in existence. The Japanese race had probably taken possession of the islands some six hundred years before; their origin was probably mixed, but contained a Chinese element. In the course of time a system developed something like that of European feudalism, in which there was no firm central government, and great baronial families who owned all the land strove for supremacy. The great Mongol

invasion at the close of the thirteenth century was destroyed partly in battle but chiefly by a tremendous storm. There was a nominal emperor, called the Mikado, but he had no effective power. The real rulership passed into the hands of the ministers called Shoguns, of whom there were successive dynasties.

In the sixteenth century the Portuguese and the Jesuit missionaries first brought Europeans in contact with Japan. At this period great prominence attaches to the Samurai, a military class corresponding to the knights of European feudalism. Japan, however, remained in almost entire seclusion from the rest of the world, retaining what may be called its exaggerated mediaevalism, till a new spirit of inquiry and progress began to awake in the nineteenth century. The Dutch were the only foreigners who had been allowed some sort of permanent foothold on the islands, and through them adventurous Japanese began to acquire some knowledge of western science and history. But other western nations were endeavouring to persuade Japan to open her gates. In 1854 the Japanese government was induced to sign a treaty, admitting the United States to enjoy commercial privileges at two ports. Similar treaties followed in rapid succession with Great Britain, Russia, and Holland. In 1862 a Japanese embassy was despatched to Europe and America, which brought back much enlightenment to the hitherto secluded nation. But it was the still unenlightened whose violent aversion to the foreigners caused outbreaks which in turn compelled the European powers to concerted action and a naval demonstration whereby submission was enforced. But again these events led to a union of the great clans for the overthrow of the Shogun, the elevation of the Mikado to be in fact the real head of the state, and the total ejection of the foreign barbarians. But the wise among them were turning to account what they saw of European drill discipline and armament, and were gradually acquiring a predominant influence. The accession of a new Mikado, young and vigorous, aided their cause. The hatred of the foreigner declined among them. By 1869 a complete revolution had been effected, not indeed without bloodshed, but

**Japanese
Isolation.**

**The
Japanese
Revolution.**

without any prolonged and fierce civil war. The Mikado was supreme. Within three years the old feudal system had been wiped out altogether, and Japan set about a thorough reorganisation which should place her on an equality with the western nations.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE NATIONS SINCE 1871

ONLY in the east of Europe have European states actually been at war with each other since the conclusion of the struggle between Germany and France. The pretext for the war between Russia and Turkey in 1877-78 was found in the Turkish misgovernment of the Danubian and Balkan provinces with a population mainly Christian and Slavonic. Its motive was to a great extent to be classed as Nationalist. An insurrection began in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the extreme north-west of the Turkish Empire. East of these on the south of the Danube come Servia and then Bulgaria. These, with Montenegro on the west, joined the insurrection; with the sympathy of Slavonic Russia and the Slavonic parts of the Austrian Empire. Representations from the powers urging reforms were disregarded by the Porte—that is, the Turkish government—whose troops set about repressing the insurgents; while the stories of their brutalities created much excitement among the western nations. With the avowed object of securing at any rate the minimum of tolerable government for the Christian populations, Russia declared war on Turkey, and was joined by the principality of Roumania on the north of the Danube, which also declared itself independent. The Turks offered a brilliantly stubborn defence at Plevna, but were reduced by starvation, and seven months after the war began the Russians were at Adrianople. In another two months the Porte accepted the treaty of San Stefano (March, 1878). The British demand that the terms of the treaty should

be submitted to a European conference almost brought about an Anglo-Russian war, but ultimately the major portion of it was referred to the Berlin Congress. The main results **The Berlin Congress.** were: that Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were made independent; Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed temporarily under Austrian administration; while Bulgaria remained tributary, but otherwise independent. (It may here be remarked that after many vicissitudes Bulgaria ultimately obtained complete independence, and that on the other hand Austria thirty years later transformed her temporary administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina into open annexation.) The Porte promised reforms in the rest of the Turkish territory, but continued successfully to evade carrying out the promises, which the 'Concert of Europe' has endeavoured to enforce only by ineffective diplomatic pressure—that is, by threats and recommendations which it does not translate into armed intervention.

Another portion of the Turkish dominions has brought about active British intervention, and threatened to involve Britain and France in war. The Khedive of Egypt is a sort of viceroy of the Sultan. The enormous debts **2. Egypt.** incurred by him led to financial control being placed in the hands of the French and British. Financial control inevitably means interference with administration, resented by patriotic or ambitious natives. The danger that the government would be usurped by a 'patriotic' military party led, in 1882, to the seizure of Alexandria by the British, after a bombardment, the overthrow of the patriot or rebel leader Arabi Pasha by British troops, and the temporary transfer of administrative control to the same power. France, having left the work to be done by her neighbour, was obliged to assent to the British occupation, which continues to be professedly temporary at the present day.

The region to the south of Egypt proper, known as the Egyptian Soudan, fell under the sway of a barbaric pretender to prophetic honours called the Mahdi. Extremely **The Soudan.** inefficient Egyptian garrisons occupied points in this territory; and the British government, considering it

impracticable for the government to maintain effective control there, despatched General C. G. Gordon to effect the withdrawal of the garrisons single-handed. Before long he found himself shut up in Khartum by the Mahdi and his fanatical followers. A tardy relief expedition arrived a day too late. Khartum had fallen, and the heroic Gordon was dead. Thirteen years later, when the Egyptian army had been completely reorganised and thorough preparation made for a permanent reconquest, Khartum was recovered, and the Mahdi's forces utterly shattered by Sir Herbert Kitchener. The almost simultaneous arrival from the south-west of a party of French at Fashoda nearly brought about an Anglo-French war, but the French claims were not pressed.

Between the time of the British occupation of Egypt and the reconquest of the Soudan, the European powers in a series of

3. Africa. agreements parcelled out the whole of Africa into what were called Spheres of Influence. Africa was

the one quarter of the globe in which vast unexplored territories were occupied entirely by uncivilised tribes. Europe recognises that a civilised state has property in the territory it occupies; and that one civilised state offends against public law if it deliberately seeks to deprive another of territory lawfully held. But Europe claims with good reason that civilised powers may impose their own control over uncivilised peoples—on which principle all the world, except Africa, had been divided before

The Parti- 1880. The partition of Africa practically meant
tion. that within the area allotted to each power as its sphere of influence, no other power would interfere with its proceedings except for such reasons as commanded the general assent of Europe. South of the equator, Germany and Portugal each had two regions, one on the east, and the other on the west, the British sphere extending northward from Cape Colony between them as far as the great lakes. Here German East Africa meets the Congo Free State, allotted to the King of the Belgians, which extends to the west coast. Thus a broad belt of territory, partly German and partly Belgian, stretches across the continent from sea to sea, parting British South Africa from the British sphere of influence in the north

which lies between Egypt and the equator. The eastern 'horn' of Africa was allotted to Italy. The states along the Mediterranean are parted from tropical Africa by great deserts. These comprise the independent Morocco on the west; Algeria, for long past under French dominion; independent Tunis; and Tripoli, which is attached to the Turkish Empire. The remainder of Africa north of the equator is divided among several powers, France and Britain having the greater shares. The island of Madagascar was acquired by France.

In South Africa, within the area of the British sovereignty before the European scramble for African territory began, lay the two 'Boer' republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the establishment of which had been sanctioned in the fifties. Under the impression that the Transvaal could not defend itself against the aggressive military tribes of the Zulus, the British government annexed it in 1877. The Boers protested, and in 1880 took up arms to recover their independence. A disaster to British troops at Majuba Hill did not prevent the British government from conceding the demands of the Boers with some reservations, and the Transvaal Republic was reinstated. Not long afterwards the discovery of gold-mines in the Transvaal had the usual effect of causing a great influx of would-be settlers, who soon raised loud complaints against the treatment to which they were subjected by the Transvaal government. At the same time a strong conviction gained ground among the British population of South Africa that the Dutch population was making the substitution of Dutch for British supremacy its deliberate aim. Hence in the autumn of 1899 arose the Boer war, in which the two republics made common cause. The British, who had greatly underrated the strength and determination of their opponents, met with a series of grave reverses during the winter; but the arrival of large reinforcements soon made it impossible for the Boers to meet them in pitched battles. The capitals of the republics were occupied, and their annexation was announced; but an obstinate guerilla warfare was maintained till the summer of 1902, when the Boers recognised that the struggle was hopeless. The republics were absorbed into the British Empire,

at first as Crown colonies—that is, with an administration controlled by the Crown. But after a short interval they were given ‘responsible’ government, that is, an administration under their own control; and subsequently the whole group of South African colonies were formed in 1909 into the federal Union of South Africa. This was the last completed stage of that federation in groups of portions of the British empire which seems to offer the modern solution of the problem of retaining Imperial unity without choking local liberty. The Canadian dominion had provided the first example, and the Australian Federation a second in 1900.

Meanwhile a new power had entered the colonial competition, and been brought into more complicated relations with Europe.

4. The United States. The United States had not concerned themselves with the doings or the rivalries of other nations except where American territory was concerned. They had had boundary and fishery disputes with Canada and therefore with the central authority of the British Empire; they had asserted the ‘Monroe doctrine’ formulated by one of the earlier presidents, under which they claimed to intervene if European powers sought to act against other American states. But now they were to be brought into more direct contact with the governments of the Old World.

This was the immediate result of a war with Spain in which they became involved in 1898. The Spanish colonial dominion had for long been reduced to Cuba and other West Indian islands, and the Philippine group in the Pacific Ocean. We have seen how powerless the Spanish government itself had become, before 1870. After a brief era of republicanism, Spain had settled the succession problem by recalling to the throne Alfonso, the son of the exiled Isabella; but she had not learnt to discipline herself to steady obedience to a stable rule, and the government of her colonies was arbitrary and uncontrolled. The misgovernment of Cuba led to insurrections, the insurrections led to intervention by the United States, and the intervention to war. Neither the fleets nor the armies of Spain were in the least capable of coping with those of the United States, and when the war was ended she had to

cede the Philippines to the western republic. The Filipinos craved for independence, and a long and wearing guerilla warfare ensued before they submitted to the American supremacy. The war, however, definitely put an end to the theory of a permanent dividing line between the powers of the Old and New Worlds. The Philippines.

It was not only the acquisition of the Philippines which gave the United States an interest in the Pacific Ocean. They, as well as the European nations, were intimately concerned with the opening up of the two previously isolated eastern nations Japan and China. Steadily, systematically, and scientifically, Japan set herself to learn everything that Europe could teach. Under the guidance of British naval officers, she created a navy; her army was educated by the Germans who had just displayed the extraordinary efficiency of their military methods in the Franco-Prussian war. China, on the other hand, continued to be deaf and blind, to reject, while pretending to adopt, all that the western barbarians had to offer; and it was with this great inert mass that Japan first came in conflict. The quarrel arose over Korea, a country which neither China nor Japan could afford to leave under control of the other. 5. Japan and China.

The war broke out in 1894. The world was inclined to believe that China must inevitably overwhelm Japan; the Japanese in fact had matters all their own way, both by land and sea. They had never feared China; what they did fear was that Russia would dominate China, and that when that happened Japan would be in danger. Their object was to dominate China themselves. But the treaty of Shimonoseki, which concluded the war, was not at all satisfactory to Russia—at that time on warm terms with France. Germany joined them in prohibiting Japan from appropriating the fruits of the contest. The practical outcome was that Russia herself got what the treaty had given to Japan. Chino-Japanese War.

China had fallen into the clutches of the western powers, which were not satisfied with the recent partition of Africa. The murder of two German missionaries gave Germany excuse for demanding and obtaining the 'lease' of a considerable territory. Russia followed suit by procuring Port The Boxer Rebellion.

Arthur. Irritation against the foreigners and some of the Chinese officials who favoured foreign ideas was largely responsible for the 'Boxer' rebellion which broke out in 1900; for two months the legations of the European powers were besieged. Order was not restored till the combined forces of six powers, including Japan, appeared at Pekin.

Japan still had before her a task of immense gravity. Russia's advance in Central Asia had been a constant source of alarm and perturbation to Great Britain; it had been the cause of war between that power and Afghanistan in 1879; in 1885 it very nearly produced war between Great Britain and Russia herself. Russia was credited with the possession of immense military resources and an effective military organisation, and the alarm she succeeded in inspiring on all sides made her diplomacy peculiarly successful. But progress in the direction of India was checked, and her attention was now turned to China and Korea. Japan, however, had not forgiven the part she played after the treaty of Shimonoseki, and was preparing to challenge the Colossus which overawed the west. At that time she had yielded when Russia had the support of Germany and France; but now an agreement with Great Britain ensured her British support if Russia were not left to fight her duel alone. Russia was urged on by a war-party in high places; Japan's attempted negotiations on the subject of Manchuria and Korea were treated with contempt.

At last, suddenly and unexpectedly, Japan struck. Her fleets began by attacking and almost disabling the Russian squadrons (February, 1904), and landing her own first army in Korea. By land and sea, from the moment the war began, the consummate efficiency of her organisation and the utter inefficiency of Russia's were made manifest. The slaughters in the great battles of the Franco-Prussian war fade into insignificance in comparison with those in the terrific engagements by which this war was characterised; the whole number killed in action in the entire course of the Boer war were less than the Russian losses in many single actions. The victory of Japan was decisive and complete; Korea passed under Japanese control, and Russia

Russo-
Japanese
War.

withdrew all claims in Manchuria. Japan's material gains were disproportionately small, but she had won for herself a sudden and tremendous reputation, and for the time at least had shattered Russia's reputation irretrievably. The rise of Japan to the position of a first-class power, and the collapse of Russian prestige, are perhaps the most notable products of the first decade of the present century.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK IX., THE MODERN NATIONS

GUIDING DATES

Revolts in Spain, Naples, Sicily, and Portugal . . .	1820	Italy becomes one kingdom	} 1861
Greece revolts . . .	1821	American Civil War begins	
Accession of Charles x. in France . . .	1824	Schleswig-Holstein war . . .	1863
Battle of Navarino . . .	1827	End of American Civil War . . .	1865
Greek Independence . . .	1829	Seven Weeks' War . . .	1866
French 'July' Revolution . . .	} 1830	Restoration of the Mikado . . .	1869
Risings in Belgium and Poland . . .		Franco-Prussian War ; establishment of French Republic . . .	1870
Belgian Independence . . .		New German Empire pro- claimed . . .	1871
Rising in Italy . . .	} 1831	Russo-Turkish War . . .	1877
British Reform Act . . .		Berlin Treaty . . .	1878
Accession of Isabella in Spain, and expulsion of Dom Miguel from Portugal	1833	Afghan War . . .	1879
Separation of England and Hanover . . .	1837	Retrocession of Transvaal . . .	1881
First Anglo-Chinese war . . .	1840	British occupation of Egypt . . .	1882
United States war with Mexico . . .	1847	Partition of Africa completed . . .	1891
The Year of Revolutions . . .	1848	War of China and Japan . . .	1894
Annexation of Punjab . . .	1849	War of United States and Spain . . .	1898
<i>Coup d'état</i> in France . . .	1851	Boer War breaks out . . .	1899
Napoleon III., emperor . . .	1852	Australian Federation . . .	} 1900
Crimean War . . .	1854	Boxer Rebellion . . .	
Japanese Treaty with United States . . .	1854	End of Boer War . . .	1902
Indian Mutiny . . .	1857	War of Russia and Japan . . .	1904
Liberation of North Italy . . .	1859	Annexation of Bosnia by Austria . . .	1908
		South African Federation . . .	1909

LEADING NAMES

Alexander I. — Nicholas I. — Ferdinand VII. — Louis XVIII. — Charles X. — Louis Philippe — Pius IX. — Garibaldi — Cavour — Victor Emmanuel — Dom Miguel — Don Carlos — Queen Isabella — Napoleon III. — Bismarck — William I. — Moltke — Abraham Lincoln.

NOTES

Material Progress. The nineteenth century was the age of the most rapid material progress that the world has known. Scientific discoveries had initiated the era of steam before it began. Very rapidly steam-power became the great instrument of manufactures of all kinds. What took place in England was typical of what began to take place all over Europe, and in America. A hundred years ago men travelled on foot, or on horseback, or by coach: fifty years later every country had become a network of railroads. Steamships were displacing sailing vessels, and iron-clad warships were just about to displace the old 'wooden walls' of England. Warfare was being changed by the enormously increased speed at which troops could be moved and supplies sent to the front. Huge towns were developing: the population of London to-day is one-third of the entire population of the British Isles at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Slavery and Serfdom. In Europe slavery gave place to serfdom when the old Roman system fell to pieces. It continued among the oriental peoples, and reappeared in the New World with the conquest of the native races by the Spaniards. At the same time the practice arose of carrying off African negroes to serve as slaves in the New World, because they were better labourers than the natives of America. The theory was that the slaves lost their freedom but gained salvation by becoming Christians. Also it was held that they were the children of Ham predestined to serve the children of Japhet. It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that the horrors of the slave-trade began to impress the imagination of Europeans, and England had the credit of making the suppression of the trade—that is, the kidnapping and transportation of African natives—a primary demand at the Congress of Vienna. A few years later she led the way in abolishing slavery entirely on British soil in all parts of the world. Negro slavery however remained in full force in the southern states of the American Union, alone among civilised nations, till its abolition at the close of the great Civil War. Serfdom in Europe was ended by the French Revolution, except for its survival in Russia, where emancipation was granted by Tsar Alexander II. in 1861.

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